BOOKS printed for W. INNYS, and R. MANBY.

I. THE Lives of the Roman Poets; containing a critical and historical Account of them and their Writings; with large Quotations of their most celebrated Passages, as far as was necessary to compare and illustrate their several Excellencies, as well as to discover wherein they were deficient. To which is added a chronological Table, sitted to the Years before and after Christ, shewing the Times when they flourished and published their Works, and exhibiting the more remarkable Events coincident with them. Together with an Introduction concerning the Origin and Progress of Poetry in general; and an Essay on dramatick Poetry in particular. By L. Crusius, late of St. John's College Cambridge. In two Volumes 12mo.

II. The Rights of War and Peace, in three Books. Wherein are explained the Law of Nature and Nations, and the principal Points relating to Government; written originally in Latin, by the learned Hugo Grotius, and translated into English. To which are added, all the large Notes of Mr. J. Barbeyrac, Professor of Law at Groningen, and Member of the Royal Acad. of Sciences at Berlin. Fol.

III. An Explanation of the Newtonian Philosophy, in Lectures read to the Youth of the University of Leyden. Written in Latin by William-James s'Gravesande, Doctor of Laws and Philosophy, Professor of Mathematicks and Astronomy at Leyden, and Fellow of the Royal Society of London. Translated into English by E. Stone, F. R. S.

IV. The Dictionary Historical and Critical of Mr. Peter Bayle. The second Edition, carefully collated with the several Editions of the Original; in which many Passages are restored, and the whole greatly augmented, particularly with a Translation of the Quotations from the most eminent Writers in various Languages. To which is presix'd the Life of the Author. Revised, corrected, and enlarged by Mr. Des Maizeaux, Fellow of the Royal Society. In sive Vols Folio.

BOOKS printed for W. INNYS, and R. MANBY.

I. THE Lives of the Roman Poets; containing a critical and historical Account of them and their Writings; with large Quotations of their most celebrated Passages, as far as was necessary to compare and illustrate their several Excellencies, as well as to discover wherein they were deficient. To which is added a chronological Table, sitted to the Years before and after Christ, shewing the Times when they flourished and published their Works, and exhibiting the more remarkable Events coincident with them. Together with an Introduction concerning the Origin and Progress of Poetry in general; and an Essay on dramatick Poetry in particular. By L. Crusius, late of St. John's College Cambridge. In two Volumes 12mo.

II. The Rights of War and Peace, in three Books. Wherein are explained the Law of Nature and Nations, and the principal Points relating to Government; written originally in Latin, by the learned Hugo Grotius, and translated into English. To which are added, all the large Notes of Mr. J. Barbeyrac, Professor of Law at Groningen, and Member of the Royal Acad. of Sciences at Berlin. Fol.

III. An Explanation of the Newtonian Philosophy, in Lectures read to the Youth of the University of Leyden. Written in Latin by William-James s'Gravesande, Doctor of Laws and Philosophy, Professor of Mathematicks and Astronomy at Leyden, and Fellow of the Royal Society of London. Translated into English by E. Stone, F. R. S.

IV. The Dictionary Historical and Critical of Mr. Peter Bayle. The second Edition, carefully collated with the several Editions of the Original; in which many Passages are restored, and the whole greatly augmented, particularly with a Translation of the Quotations from the most eminent Writers in various Languages. To which is presix'd the Life of the Author. Revised, corrected, and enlarged by Mr. Des Maizeaux, Fellow of the Royal Society. In sive Vols Folio.

HISTORY

OF

THE LIFE

OF

Marcus Tullius Cicero.

Hunc igitur spectemus. Hoc propositum sit nobis exemplum.

Ille se profecisse sciat, cui CICERO valde placebit.

QUINTIL. Instit. 1. x. 1.

By CONYERS MIDDLETON, D. D. Principal Library-Keeper of the University of Cambridge.

VOL. III.

The THIRD EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed for W. INNYS, at the West-End of St. Paul's, and R. MANBY, on Ludgate-hill, over-against the Old-Bailey.

MDCCXLII.

HISTORY

THE LIFE

30

Marcus Tullins Cicero.

According to the second of the

Er Courre Courre D. D. C. Courre Calcolly of Calcolly.

VOL. IL.

LEGITLE H QUENT ONY

LONDON

The Cost of the Co

THE

HISTORY

min way to or commo O. F

The LIFE of M. TULLIUS CICERO.

SECT. IX.

ICERO was present at the death A. Urb. 709. of Cæsar in the Senate; where he bad the pleasure, he tells us, to fee the M. ANTONItyrant perish as be deserved [o]. By us. P. Conthis accident he was freed at once from all fub-NELIUS Dojection to a superior, and all the uneafiness and LABELLA. indignity of managing a power, which every moment could oppress him. He was now without competition the first Citizen in Rome; the first in that credit and authority both with the Senate and People, which illustrious merit and services will necessarily give in a free City. The Conspirators considered him as such, and reckoned upon him as their fure friend: for they had no fooner finished their work, than Brutus, lifting up his bloody dagger, called out upon him by name, to congratulate with him on VOL. III.

[o] Quid mihi attulerit ista interitu Tyranni? Ad Attdomini mutatio, præter lætitiam, quam oculis cepi, justo

Cic. 63. LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709. the recovery of their liberty [p]: and when they all ran out prefently after into the Forum, with M. ANTONI- their daggers in their hands, proclaiming liberty Us. P. Cor- to the City, they proclaimed at the same time WELLIUS Do- the name of Cicero; in hopes to recommend the justice of their act, by the credit of his appro-

bation [9].

THIS gave Antony a pretence to charge him afterwards in public, with being privy to the conspiracy, and the principal adviser of it [r]: but it is certain, that he was not at all acquainted with it: for tho' he had the strictest friendship with the chief actors, and they the greatest confidence in him, yet his age, character, and dignity, rendered him wholly unfit, to bear a part in an attempt of that nature; and to embark himself in an affair so desperate, with a number of men, who, excepting a few of their Leaders, were all either too young to be trusted, or too obfoure, even to be known by him [s]. He could have been of little or no fervice to them in the execution of the act, yet of much greater in justifying it afterwards to the City, for having had no share in it, nor any personal interest, to make his authority suspected. These were the true reasons without doubt, why Brutus and Cassius did not impart the defign to him: had it been from any other motive, as some writers have

[p] Cæfare interfecto_ffafim cruentum alte extollens M. Brutus pugionem, Cicefonem nominatim exclamavit, atque ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus. Philip. 2.12.

[q] Dio. p. 249. [r] Cæarem meo confilio interfectum. [Phil. 2. 11.] Vestri enim pulcherrimi facti ille furiosus me principem dicit suisse. Utinam quidem fuiffem, molestus nobis non

effet. Ep. fam. 12. 3. it. 2. est, in tot hominibus partim obscuris, partim adolescentibus, neminem occultantibus, meum nomen latere potuisfe? Phil. 2. 1F.

fuggested, or had it admitted any interpretation A. Urb. 709. injurious to his honor, he must have been often reproached with it by Antony, and his other ad- M. ANTONIversaries of those times, who were so studious to us. P. Coninvent and propagate every calumny that could NELIUS Dodepress his credit. I cannot however intirely acquit him of being in some degree accessory to the death of Cæfar: for it is evident from feveral of his Letters, that he had an expectation of such an attempt, and from what quarter it would come : and not only expected, but wished it: he prophefied very early, that Cafar's reign could not last fix months, but must necessarily fall, either by violence, or of itself; and boped to live to see it [1]: he knew the disaffection of the greatest and best of the City; which they expressed with great freedom in their Letters, and with much more. we may imagine, in their private conversation: he knew the fierce and haughty spirit of Brutus and Cassius; and their impatience of a Master; and cultivated a strict Correspondence with them both at this time, as if for the opportunity of exciting them to some act of vigor. On the news, that Atticus fent him, of Cafar's image being placed in the Temple of Quirinus, adjoining to that of the Goddess Salus; I had rather, fays he, have bim the Comrade of Romulus, than of the Goddess Safety [u]: referring to Romulus's fate, of being killed in the Senate. In another Letter it seems to be intimated, that Atticus and he had been contriving, or talking at least together, how Brutus might be spirited up to some attempt

Cic. 63.

[1] Jam intelliges id regnum vix semestre esse possehos tamen hoc confirmamus illo augurio, quo diximus, nec nos fallit, nec aliter accidet. Corruat iste necesse

est, aut per adversarios, aut iple per le-id spero vivis nobis fore. Ad Att. x. 8.

[u] Eum ouvraor Quirino malo, quam Saluti. Ad Att. 12.15.

Cic. 63. Coff. M. ANTONIus. P. Cor-NELIUS DO-BABELLA.

A. Urb. 709. of that kind, by fetting before him the fame and glory of his Ancestors: "Does Brutus then tell us, fays he, that Casar brings with him glad tidings to honest men? where will he find them? unless he hangs himself. But how se-" curely is he now intrenched on all fides? What " use then of your fine invention; the picture of old Brutus and Ahala with the verses under-" which I saw in your Gallery? Yet what after " all can he do?" [x] One cannot help observing likewise, in his Pieces, addressed about this time to Brutus, how artfully he falls into a lamentation of the times, and of the particular unhappiness of Brutus himself, in being deprived by them of all the hopes and use of his great talents; putting him in mind at the same time of bis double descent from Ancestors, who had acquired immortal glory by delivering Rome from fervitude. Thus he concludes his treatife on famous Orators.

> [x] Itane nunciat Brutus, illum ad bonos viros svani-Aua? sed ubi eos? nisi forte fe suspendit? hic autem ut fultum est! ubi igitur piac-Texunua illud cuum quod vidi in Parthenone, Ahalam & Brutum? sed quid faciat? ad Att. 13. 40

Parthenone is supposed to denote fome room or gallery in Brutus's, or more probably in Atticus's house, adorned with the Images or Portraits of the great men of Rome, under each of which, as Cornelius Nepos tells us, fin vit. Att. c. 18.] Atticus had feverally described their principal acts and honours, in four or five verses of his own composing: where the contemplation of thefe Figures

« WHEN of old Brutus and Ahala, joined together in one picture, with the verses under, had given a handle perhaps to a conversation between Cicero and him, how Brutus might be incited by the example of those great Ancestors to dissolve the tyranny of Cæsar. It feems also very probable, that this very picture of Atficus's invention, as Cicero calls it, might give occasion to the thought and coinage of that filver medal or denarius, which is still extant, with the heads and names of those two old Patriots; Brutus on the one fide, Ahala on the other. Vid. Thefaur. Morell, in Fam. Junia, Tab. I. I.

Cic. 63.

"WHEN I look upon you, Brutus, I am A. Urb. 709. er grieved to fee your youth, running, as it were, in full career through the midst of M. ANTONI-" glory, stop'd short by the wretched fate of us. P. Cor-" your Country. This grief fits heavy upon NELIUS De-" me, and on our common friend Atticus, the partner of my affection, and good opinion of " you: we heartily wish you well; wish to see you reap the fruit of your virtue; and to " live in a Republic, that may give you the " opportunity, not onely to revive, but to increase the honour and memory of the two no-"ble families, from which you descend-for " the Forum was wholly yours; yours all that " course of glory: you, of all the young plea-" ders, brought thither, not onely a tongue, " ready formed by the exercise of speaking, but " had enriched your Oratory by the furniture also of the severer arts; and by the help of " the same arts had joined to a perfection of eloquence the ornament of every virtue. We " are doubly forry therefore on your account, " that you want the benefit of the Republic; " the Republic of you: but though this odious " ruin of the City extinguishes the use of your " abilities, go on still, Brutus, to pursue your " usual studies, &c."

THESE passages seem to give a reasonable ground to believe, that Cicero, though a stranger to the particular counfils of the Conspirators, had yet a general notion of their defign, as well as some share in promoting it. In his reply to Antony's charge, he does not deny his expectation of it, freely owns his joy for it, and thanks him for giving him an honor, which he had not merited, of bearing a part in it; he calls it, the most glorious act, which had ever been done.

B 3

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coff. M. ANTONI-US. P. COR-NELIUS DO-LABELLA. " done, not onely in that, but in any other "City: in which men were more forward to " claim a share, which they had not, than to " diffemble that which they had; that Brutus's " reason for calling out upon him, was to fig-" nify, that he was then emulating his praises, by an act, not unlike to what he had done: that if to wish Cæsar's death was a crime, to " rejoice at it was the same; there being no difference between the adviser and the approver; yet excepting Antony and a few more, who were fond of having a King, that there " was not a man in Rome, who did not defire " to fee the fact committed; that all honest men, as far as it was in their power, concurred " in it; that some indeed wanted the counsil, " fome the courage, fome the opportunity, but " none the will to do it, &c. [y]"

THE news of this surprising fact raised a general consternation through the City: so that the first care of the Conspirators was to quiet the minds of the People, by proclaiming peace and liberty to all, and declaring, that no farther violence was intended to any. They marched out therefore in a body, with a Cap as the enfign of liberty, carried before them on a Spear [z];

[y] Ecquis est igitur, qui te excepto, & iis, qui illum regnare gaudebant, qui illud aut fieri noluerit, aut factum improbarit? omnes enim in culpa. Etenim omnes boni, quantum in ipsis fuit, Cæsarem occiderunt. Aliis confilium, aliis animus, occasio desuit; voluntas nemini, &c. Phil. 2. 12.

[z] A Cap was always given to Slaves, when they

were made free; whence it became the Emblem of liberty: to expose it therefore on a Spear, was a public invitation to the people, to embrace the liberty that was offered to them by the deftruction of their Tyrant. There was a Medal likewise struck on this occasion, with the same device, which is still extant. The thought however was not new; for

Satur-

Cic. 63.

and in a calm and orderly manner proceded A. Urb. 709. through the Forum; where, in the first heat of joy for the death of the Tyrant, several of the M. ANTONIyoung Nobility, who had born no part in the us. P. Coaconspiracy, joined themselves to the company NELIUS Dowith fwords in their hands, out of an ambition LABELLA. to be thought partners in the act; but they paid dear afterwards for that vanity, and without any thare of the glory, were involved in the ruin which it drew upon all the reft. Brutus defigned to have spoken to the Citizens from the Rostra; but perceiving them to be in too great an agitation to attend to fpeeches, and being uncertain what way the popular humor might turn, and knowing that there were great numbers of Cæsar's old soldiers in the City, who had been summoned from all parts to attend bim to the Parthian war, he thought proper, with his accomplices, under the guard of Decimus's Gladiators, to take refuge in the Capitol [a]. Being here secured from any immediate violence, he fummoned the people thither in the afternoon; and in a speech to them, which he had prepared, justified his act, and explaned the motives of it, and in a pathetic manner exhorted them to exert themselves in the defence of their country, and maintain the liberty now offered to them, against all the abettors of the late tyranny. Cicero presently followed them into the Capitol, with the best and

Saturninus, in his fedition, when he had possessed himfelf of the Capitol, exalted a Cap also on the top of a Spear, as a token of liberty to all the Slaves, who would join with him: and though Marius, in his fixth Confulship, destroyed him for that act, by a decree of the Senate; yet he

t

e

d

d

it

r-

re 1-

to

25

e-

t.

fe

h

18

ht

ir

r.

himself used the same expedient afterwards to invite the flaves to take arms with him against Sylla, who was marching with his army into the City to attack him. Val. Max. 8. 6.

[a] App. 2. p. 503. Dio. p. 250. Plut, in Cæf. & Brut.

Cic. 63. Coff. NELIUS Do-LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709. and greatest part of the Senate, to deliberate on the proper means of improving this hopefull be-M. Antoni- ginning, and establishing their liberty on a solid

vs. P. Con- and lafting foundation.

ANTONY in the mean while, shocked by the hardiness of the act, and apprehending some danger to his own life, stripped bimself of bis confular robes, and fled bome in disquise; where be began to fortify his house, and kept himself close all that day [b]; till perceiving the pacific conduct of the conspirators, he recovered his spirits, and appeared again the next morning in publick.

WHILE things were in this fituation, L. Cornelius Cinna, one of the Prætors, who was nearly allied to Cæsar, made a speech to the people in praise of the conspirators; extolling their act, as highly meritorious, and exhorting the multitude to invite them down from the Capitol, and reward them with the honors due to the deliverers of their country; then throwing off his Pratorian robe, he declared, that he would not wear it any longer, as being bestowed upon him by a Tyrant, and not by the laws. But the next day, as he was going to the Senate, some of Cæsar's Veteran foldiers, having gathered a mob of the fame party, attacked him in the streets with vollies of stones, and drove him into a house, which they were going presently to set on fire, with defign to have burnt him in it, if Lepidus had not come to his rescue with a body of regular troops [c].

LEPIDUS was at this time in the suburbs of Rome, at the head of an army, ready to depart

[b] Quæ tua fuga? quæ formido præclaro illo die? guæ propter conscientiam scelerum desperatio vitæ; cum

ex illa fuga-clam te domum recepisti. Phil. 2. 35. Vid. Dio. p. 259. App. 502, 503. [c] Plut. in Brut. App. p. 504.

for the government of Spain, which had been A. Urb. 709. affigned to him by Cæfar, with a part of Gaul. In the night therefore, after Cæsar's death, he M. ANTONIfilled the Forum with his troops, and finding us. P. Corhimself superior to any man in power, began to NELIUS Dothink of making bingelf Master of the City, and LABELLA. taking immediate revenge on the Conspirators: but being a weak and vain man, Antony eafily diverted him from that defign, and managed him to his own views: "He represented the hazard " and difficulty of the attempt, while the Senate, " the City, and all Italy were against them; " that the only way to effect what they wished, " was to diffemble their real purpose; to recom-" mend pacific counfils, and lull their adversa-" ries afleep, till they had provided a strength " fufficient to oppress them; and that, as soon s things were ripe, he would join with him " very heartily in avenging Cæfar's death."-With these remonstrances he pacified him; and to render their union the firmer, and to humor his vanity at the same time, gave bis Daughter in marriage to Lepidus's Son, and affifted bim to feize the High Priestbood, vacant by Cæsar's death, without any regard to the ordinary forms of election [d]. Having thus gained Lepidus into his measures, he made use of his authority and his forces, to harafs and terrify the opposite party, till he had driven the Conspirators out of the City: and when he had ferved his purposes with him at home, contrived to fend him to his government, to keep the Provinces and the Commanders abroad in proper respect to them; and that, by fitting down with his army in the nearest part of Gaul, he might be ready for any event, which should require his help in Italy.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coff. NELIUS Do-LABELLA.

THE Conspirators in the mean while had formed no scheme, beyond the Death of Cæsar; but M. Antoni- feemed to be as much furprized and amazed at ws. P. Con- what they had done, as the rest of the City: they trusted intirely to the integrity of their cause; fancying, that it would be fufficient of itself to effect all that they expected from it, and draw an universal concurrence to the defence of their common Liberty; and taking it for granted, that Cæsar's fate, in the height of all his greatness, would deter any of his Partisans from aiming at the fame power: they placed withal a great confidence in Cicero's authority, of which they affured themselves as their own, and were not disappointed; for from this moment he resolved at all adventures to support the credit of the men, and their act, as the only means left of recovering the Republic. He knew, that the people were all on their fide; and, as long as force was removed, that they were Masters of the City: his advice therefore was, to use their present advantage, and in the consternation of Cæfar's party, and the zeal and union of their own, that Brutus and Caffius, as Prators, should call the Senate into the Capitol, and procede to some vigorous decrees, for the security of the public tranquillity [e]. But Brutus was for marching calmly, and with all due respect to the authority of the Conful; and having conceived hopes of Antony, proposed the sending a deputation to him, to exhort him to measures of peace: Cicero remonstrated against it; nor would be prevailed with to bear a part in it: he told them plainly,

> [e] Meministi me clamare, illo ipso primo Capitolino nibus bonis, etiam sat bonis, mortales, quæ tum opera ef-

> fici potuerunt, lætantibus omdie, Senatum in Capitolium fractis latronibus? Ad Att.

sthat there could be no fafe treaty with him; A. Urb. 709 " that as long as he was afraid of them, he would promise every thing; but, when his M. ANTONI-

fears were over, would be like himself, and us. P. Conperform nothing: fo that while the other con- NELIUS Da-

" fular Senators were going forwards and back- LABELLA.

" wards in this office of mediation, he fluck to " his point, and staid with the rest in the Ca-

" pitol, and did not fee Antony for the two

" first days [f]."

f

1

THE event confirmed what Cicero foretold: Antony had no thoughts of peace or of any good to the republic: his fole view was, to feize the government to himself, as soon as he should be in condition to do it; and then on pretence of revenging Cæfar's death, to destroy all those, who were likely to oppose him: as his business therefore was, to gain time by diffembling and deceiving the Republican party into a good opinion of him; fo all his answers were mild and moderate; professing a fincere inclination to peace, and no other defire, than to fee the Republic fettled again on it's old basis. Two days passed in mutual assurances from both sides, of their disposition to concord and amity; and Antony furnmoned the Senate on the third, to adjust the conditions of it, and confirm them by fome folemn act. Here Cicero, as the best foundation of a lafting quiet, moved the affembly in the first place, after the example of Athens, to decree a general amnesty, or all of oblivion, for all that was paffed; to which they unanimously a-

[f] Dicebam illis in Capitolio liberatoribus nostris, cum me ad te ire vellent, ut cæteri Consulares irent, read defendendam Rempub. te dirent, in sententia mansi: adhortarer, quoad metueres, omnia te promissurum, simul stero vidi. Phil. 2. 35.

ac timere desiisses, similem te futurum tui. Itaque cum neque te illo die, neque po-

Cic. 63. Coff. LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709. greed. Antony feemed to be all goodness; talked of nothing, but healing measures; and, for M. Antoni- a proof of his fincerity, moved, that the Confpi-Us. P. Con- rators sould be invited, to take part in their deli-WELIUS Do- berations, and sent his Son as an Hostage for their fafety: upon which they all came down from the Capitol; and Brutus supped with Lepidus; Caffius with Antony; and the day ended to the universal joy of the City, who imagined, that their liberty was now crowned with certain peace [g].

THERE were feveral things however very artfully proposed and carried by Antony, on the pretence of public concord, of which he afterwards made a most pernicious use; particularly, a decree for the confirmation of all Cæsar's acts: this motion was suspected by many, who stuck upon it for some time, and called upon Antony to explain it, and specify how far it was to extend: he affured them, "that no other acts were " meant, than what were known to every bo-

" dy; and entered publicly on Cæfar's register: " they asked, if any persons were to be restored

" from exil; he faid, one only and no more:

" whether any immunities were granted to Ci-

ties or Countries: he answered, none; and

" confented, that it should pass with a restricti-

on,

[g] In que templo, quantum in me fuit, jeci fundamenta pacis, Atheniensiumque renovavi vetus exemplum: græcum etiam verbum usurpavi, quo tum in sedandis discordiis erat usa civitas illa, atque omnem memoriam discordiarum oblivione sempiterna delendam censui. Præclara tum oratio M. Antonii, egregia etiam voluntas: pax denique per eum & per libe-

ros ejus cum præstantissimis civibus confirmata est-Phil.

Quæ fuit oratio de concordia?—tuus parvulus filius in Capitolium a te missus pacis obses suit. Quo Senatus die lætior? quo populus Romanus?-tum denique liberati per viros fortifimos videbamur, quia, ut illi voluerant, libertatem pax sequebatur. Ib. 13. Vid. Plutar. in Brut .-

Cic. 63.

on, proposed by Ser. Sulpicius; that no A. Urb. 709. grant, which was to take place after the Ides " of March, should be ratified [b]:"this was M. ANTONIgenerally thought fo reasonable, and Antony's us. P. Corfeeming candor had made fuch an impression, NELIUS DOL that those who saw the mischief of it, durst not LABELLA. venture to oppose it: especially as there was a precedent for it in the case of Sylla; and as it was supposed to relate chiefly to the veteran foldiers, whom it was not possible to oblige, or keep in good humor, without confirming the privileges and poffessions, which Cæsar had granted to them. But Brutus and his friends had private reasons for entertaining a better opinion of Antony, than his outward conduct would justify: Cæsar had used him roughly on several occasions [i]; and they knew his refertment of it; and that he had been engaged with Trebonius, on Cæsar's last return from Spain, in a design against bis Life: and tho he did not perform that engagement; yet they thought it an obligation, as well as a proof of his continuing in the fame mind, that he had not discovered it: which was the reason of their sparing him, when Cæsar was killed, and of Trebonius's taking him aside, on pretence of business, lest his behaviour on that occasion might provoke them to kill him too k.

[b] Summa constantia ad ea, quæ quæsita erant, refpondebat: nihil tum, nifi quod erat notum omnibus, in C. Cæsaris commentariis reperiebatur: num qui exules restituti? unum aiebat, præterea neminem. Num immunitates datæ? nullæ, respondebat. Assentiri etiam

nos Ser. Sulpicio voluit, ne qua tabula post Idus Martias ullius decreti Cæfaris aut beneficii figeretur. Phil. 1.1.

[i] Phil. 2. 29.

[k] Quanquam fi interfici Cæsarem voluisse crimen est. vide quæso, Antoni, quid tibi futurum fit, quem & Narbone hoc confilium cum

Cic. 63. Coff. LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709. Bu T, as Cicero often laments, they had already ruined their cause, by giving Antony lei-M. ANTONI. fure to recollect himself, and gather troops a-Us. P. Cor- bout him, by which he forced upon them feve-NELIUS Do- ral other decrees against their will; one of them in favour of the veteran foldiers, whom he had drawn up for that purpose in arms about the Senate [1]; and another still worse, for the allowance of a public funeral to Cafar; which Atticus had been remonstrating against both to Cicero and Brutus, as pernicious to the peace of the City; but it was too late to prevent it; Antony was refolved upon it; and had provided all things for it, as the best opportunity of inflaming the foldiers and the populace, and raising some commotions to the difadvantage of the Republican cause; in which he succeeded so well, that Brutus and Cassius had no small difficulty to defend their lives and bouses from the violence of his mob [m]. In this tumult, Helvius Cinna, one of the Tribuns, and a particular friend of Cæsar, was torn in pieces by the rabble; being mistaken unluckily for the Prætor of that name, who, as it is said above, bad extolled the all of killing Cæsar in a speech from the Rostra: this so alarmed all those, who had any similitude of name with any of the Conspirators, that Caius Casca, another Senator, thought fit by a public advertisement, to signify the distinction of his person and principles

> C. Trebonio cepisse notissimum est, & ob ejus confilii focietatem, cum interficeretur Cæsar, tum te a Trebonio vidimus sevocari. Ib. 14.

[/] Nonne omni ratione veterani, qui armati aderant, cum præfidii nos nihil haberemus, defendendi fuerunt?

—Ad Att. 14. 14. [m] Meministine te clamare, causam periisse, si funere elatus effet? at ille etiam in foro combustus, laudatusque. miserabiliter; servique & egentes in tecta nostra cum-facibus immiss. Ad Att. 14 10, 14. Plutar. in Brut.

principles from Publius Casca, who gave the first A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63.

blow to Cafar [n].

WE are not to imagine however, as it is M. ANTONIcommonly believed, that these violences were us. P. Corowing to the general indignation of the Citizens, NELIUS Doagainst the murtherers of Cæsar; excited either by the spectacle of his body, or the eloquence of Antony, who made the funeral oration; for it is certain, that Cæfar, thro' his whole reign, could never draw from the people any public fignification of their favour; but on the contrary, was constantly mortified, by the perpetual demonstrations of their hatred and disaffection The case was the same after his death: the memory of his tyranny was odious, and Brutus and Cassius the real favorites of the City: as appeared on all occasions, where-ever their free and genuin fenfe could be declared, in the public Shews and Theaters [o]; which Cicero frequently appeals to, as a proper encouragement to all honest men, to act with spirit and vigor, in the defence of their common liberty. What happened therefore at the funeral was the effect of artifice and faction; the work of a mercenary rabble; the greatest part slaves and strangers, lifted and prepared for violence, against

[n] C. Helvius Cinna Trib. pl. ex funere C. Cæsaris domum suam petens, populi manibus discerptus est, pro Cornelio Cinna, in quem fævire se existimabat; iratus ei, quod cum affinis effet Czfaris, adversus cum nefarie raptum, impiam pro Rostris orationem habuisset. - Val. Max. 9. 9. vid. Dig. p. 267, 268. it. Plut. in Caf. & Brut.

[0] Omnes enim jam eives

de Reipub. salute una & mente & voce consentiunt. Phil.

Quid enim gladiatoribus clamores innumerabilium civium? quid populi versus? quid Pompeii tlatuæ plausus infinitus? quid iis Tribunis plebis, qui vobis adversantur? parumne hæc fignificant, incredibiliter confentientem populi Romani voluntatem? &c. ib. 15. Ad Att. 14. 2.

Coff.

Cic. 63. Coff. LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709: a party unarmed, and pursuing pacific counfils, and placing all their trust and security in the M. Antoni- justice of their cause. Cicero calls it a Conspius. P. Con-racy of Gæsar's freedmen [p], who were the chief NELIUS Do- managers of the tumult: in which the Jews feem to have born a confiderable part; who, out of hatred to Pompey, for his affront to their City and Temple, were zealoufly attached to Cæfar, and, above all the other Foreigners in Rome, distinguished themselves, by the expressions of their grief for his death; so as to spend whole nights at his monument, in a kind of religious devotion to bis memory [9].

This first tast of Antony's perfidy was a clear warning to the Conspirators, what little reason they had to depend upon him; or to expect any fafety in the City, where he had the foverein command, without a guard for their defence; which, though D. Brutus demanded for them, they could not obtain: whilft Antony, to alarm them still the more, took care to let them know. that the soldiers and the populace were so enraged, that he did not think it possible for any of them to be safe [r]. They all therefore quitted Rome: Trebonius stole away privately for Asia, to take

possession

[p] Nam ista quidem libertorum Cæsaris conjuratio facile opprimeretur, fi recte faperet Antonius. Ad Att. 14.

[9] In summo publico luctu exterarum gentium, multitudo circulatim, fuo quæque more, lamentata est, præcipueque Judzi, qui etiam noctibus continuis bustum frequentarunt. Sueton. 1. Cæf. 84.

[r] Heri apud me Hirtius fuit; qua mente Antonius

esset, demonstravit, pessima scilicet & infidelissima. Nam se neque mihi provinciam dare posse aiebat, neque arbitrari, tuto in urbe esse quemquam nostrum, adeo esse militum concitatos animos & plebis. Quorum utrumque effe falfum puto vos animadvertere placitum est mihi postulare, ut liceret nobis esse Romæ publico præfidio: quod illos nobis concessures non pute-Ep. fam. x1. 1.

possession of that province, which had before A. Urb. 709. been affigned to him; being afraid of being prevented by the intrigues of Antony: D. Brutus, M. ANTONIfor the same reason, possessed himself of the Cifal- us. P. Conpine or Italic Gaul, which had been conferred NELIUS Doupon him likewise by Cæsar, in order to strengthen himself there against all events, and by his neighbourhood to Rome, to encourage and protect all the friends of liberty: M. Brutus, accompanied by Cassius, retired to one of his villa's near Lanuvium, to deliberate about their future conduct, and to take fuch measures, as the accidents of the times and the motions of their ene-

mies should make necessary.

But as foon as the Conspirators were gone, Antony refumed his Mask, and as if the late violences had been accidental onely, and the fudden transport of a vile mob, professed the same moderation as before, and affected to speak with the greatest respect of Brutus and Cassius; and by feveral feafonable acts, proposed by him to the Senate, appeared to have nothing fo much at heart, as the public concord: among other decrees he offered one, which was prepared and drawn up by himself, to abolish for ever the name and office of Distator: this seemed to be a sure pledge of his good intentions, and gave an universal satisfaction to the Senate; who passed it, as it were, by acclamation, without putting it even to the vote; and decreed the thanks of the house for it to Antony, who, as Cicero afterwards told him, bad fixed an indelible infamy by it on Cæfar, in declaring to the world, that for the odium of his government, such a decree was become both necessary and popular [s].

VOL. III. CICERO

Cic. 63.

^[1] Dictaturam, que vim - rat, funditus e Repub. fuftujam regia potestatis obsede- lit. De qua ne sententias

A. Urb. 709. Cie. 63. Coff. M. ANTONI-NELIUS Do-LABELLA.

CICERO also left Rome soon after Brutus and Cassius [1], not a little mortified to see things take fo wrong a turn, by the indolence of their us. P. Con- friends; which gave him frequent occasion to fay, that the Ides of March had produced nothing. which pleased him, but the fast of the day; which was executed indeed with manly vigor, but supported by childish counsils [a]. As he passed thro the country, he found nothing but mirth and rejoicing in all the great Towns, on the account of Cæfar's death: " it is impossible to express, " fays he, what joy there is every where: how " all people flock about me: how greedy they " are to hear an account of it from me! ven " what strange politics do we pursue? What a " folicism do we commit? To be afraid of those, whom we have subdued: to defend " his acts, for whose death we rejoice; to suffer "Tyranny to live, when the Tyrant is killed; " and the Republic to be loft, when our liber-" ty is recovered [x]." oldbroled is reyel ve bas

en Communication of the Learning of Articus

quidem diximus eique Itaque flutta jam Iduum mar-Claturæ nomen sustuliti: hec inulta eft a re morniam sempiternam, &c. Phil. 1. 1, 13.

[1] Itaque cum teneri urte in es, nec Cassium tuto esse posse, camque armis oppresfam ab Antonio, mini guoque iph esse excedendum putavis Att. 46. Ad Brug 13

mobias .

amplissimis verbis per S. C. tiarum est consolatio. Animis gratias egimus ____ maxi- enim usi sumus virilibus s mum autem illud, quod Di- consiliis, mihi crede, puericonfiliis, mihi crede, puerilibus. Ib. 15. 4.

at heart, as the public concert t am

[x] Dici enim non potell tuo Catari nota ad ignomi- quantopere gaudeant, ut ad me concurrant, ut audire cupiant verba mea ea de refit emin manaila usa, ut bem a particidia viderem, nec victor : memeremos - nihil enim tam σολοικον, quam meavvortovus in colo effe. Tyranni facta defendi-Ad

O Dii boni! vivit tyran-[u] Sed tamen adhuc me nis, tyrannus occidit. Ejus nihil delettet præter Idns interfettimorteilættinur cunattien SAdatt. ps. 6.21.] jun fiche defendingus ells gut

Cic. 63.

Coff.

ATTICUS fent him word of fome remarka- A. Urb. 700. ble applause, which was given to the famed Comedian, Publius, for what he had faid upon the M. ANTONIstage, in favour of the public liberty; and that us. P. Cor-L. Cassius, the Brother of the Conspirator, then NELIUS DOone of the Tribuns, was received with infinite acclamations upon bis entrance into the Theater [y]: which convinced him only the more of the mistake of their friends in fitting still, and trusting to the metit of their caule, while their enemies were using all arts to destroy them. neral inclination, which declared itself to freely on the fide of liberty, obliged Antony to act with caution, and as far as pollible, to perfuade the City; that he was on the fame fide too! for which end he did another thing at this time both prudent and popular, in putting to death the Impostor Marius, who was now returned to Rome, to revenge, as he gave out, the death of his kinfman Cæfar: where fignalizing himfelf at the Head of the mob, he was the chief Incendiary at the Funeral, and the subsequent riots. and threatned nothing less than destruction to the whole Sendte: but Antony, having ferved his main purpose with him, of driving Brutus and the reft out of the City, ordered him to be feized and strangled, and his body to be dragged through the Streets [2]: which gave him fresh credit with the Republicans; fo that Brutus, together with Caffins and other friends, had a personal conference with him about this time, which paffed to mutual fatisfaction [a].

[z] Uncus impactus est Publicamque cognovio bona fugitivo illi, qui C. Marii nomen invaferat. Phil. 1. 2. [a] Antoniicolloquium cum nostris Heroibus pro re nata non incommodum. Ad Att.

[y] Ex priore Theatrum, figna confentientis multitudihise Plaufus vero, L. Caffio. datus facetus mihi quidem vifer eff. Ad Att. 14. 2.

Infinito fratris tui plausu dirumpitur. Ep. fam. 12. 2.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUs. P. CorNELIUS DOLABELLA.

By these arts Antony hoped to amuse the Conspirators, and induce them to lay aside all vigorous councils; especially, what he most apprehended, that of leaving Italy, and feizing some provinces abroad, furnished with troops and money; which might put them into a condition to act offensively: with the same view he wrote an artful Letter to Cicero, to defire his consent to the restoration of S. Clodius, the chief agent of P. Clodius, who had been feveral years in banishment, for outrages committed in the City; chiefly against Cicero himself, on whose account he was condemned. Antony, by his marriage with Fulvia, the widow of P. Clodius, became the protector of all that family, and the Tutor of young Publius, her fon; which gave him a decent pretence of interesting himself in this affair. He affures Cicero, "that he had " procured a pardon for S. Clodius from Cæ-" far; but did not intend to have made use of " it, till he had obtained his confent; and tho" " he thought himself now obliged to support " all Cæsar's acts; yet he would not insist on " this against his leave — that it would be " an obligation to young Publius, a youth of " the greatest hopes, to let him see, that Cicero " did not extend his revenge to his Father's " friends - permit me, fays he, to instill "these sentiments into the boy; and to per-" fuade his tender mind, that quarrels are not " to be perpetuated in families: and tho' your " condition, I know, is superior to all danger; " yet you will chuse, I fancy, to enjoy a quiet " and honorable, rather than a turbulent old " age-lastly, I have a fort of right to ask this " favour of you; fince I never refused any thing " to you: if I do not however prevail with

> Inhalts fatels to plasta drampitur. Ep. ismets. 2.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

US. P. COR-

wou, I will not grant it to Clodius; that you A. Urb. 709. may fee how great your authority is with me:

" fhew yourfelf the more placable on that ac- M. ANTONI-

" count [b]."

CICERO never hesitated about giving his NELIUS Doconsent, to what Antony could and would have LABELLA. done without it: " the thing itself, he knew, was " scandalous; and the pardon said to be grant-" ed by Cæfar, a forgery; and that Cæfar " would never have done it, or fuffered it to be "done; and fo many forgeries of that kind be-" gan to be published every day from Cæsar's " books, that he was almost tempted, he fays, " to wish for Cæsar again [c]." He answered him however with great civility; and in a strain of complaifance, which corresponded but little with his real opinion of the man: but Antony's public behaviour had merited some compliments: and under the present state of his power, and the uncertain condition of their own party, Cicero resolved to observe all the forms of an old acquaintance with bim; till by fome overt att against the public interest, be should be forced to confider bim as an enemy [d].

ANTONY

[6] Ad Att. 14. after Let-

ter the 13th. [c] Antonius ad me feripsit de restitutione S. Clodii: quam honorifice quod ad me attinet, ex ipfius litteris cognosces-quam dissolute, quam turpitur, quamque ita perniciose, ut nonnunquam etiam Cæsar desiderandus esse videatur, facile existimabis: quæ fecisset, neque passus esset, ea nunc ex falsis ejus commentariis proferuntur. Egoautem

Antonio facillimum me præbui. Etenim ille, quoniam femel induxit in animum fibi licere quod vellet, secisset nihilo minus me invito. Ad Att. 14. 13.

[d] Ego tamen Antonii inveteratam fine ulla offensione amicitiam retinere sane volo.

Ep. fam. 16. 23.

Cui quidem ego femper enim Cæfar nunquam neque amicus sui, antequam illum intellexi non modo aperte, fed etiam libenter cum Repub. bellum gerere. Ib. xi. 5.

A. Urb. 709, Cic. 63. Coff M. ANTONI-Us. P. COR-NELIUS DO-LABELLA. LABBELLA.

ANTONY made him but a cold reply: having heard perhaps, in the mean time, of fomething which did not please him in his conduct. He told him onely, that his easiness and clemency were agreeable to bim, and might bereafter be a

great pleasure to bimself [e].

CLEOPATRA, the Queen of Egypt, was in Rome when Cafar was killed; but being terrified by that accident, and the subsequent diforders of the City, the ran away prefently with great precipitation. Her authority and credit with Cæsar, in whose house she was lodged, made her infolence intolerable to the Romans; whom the feems to have treated on the fame foot with her own Egyptians; as the subjects of absolute power, and the flaves of a Master, whom she commanded. Cicero bad a conference with ber in Cafar's gardens; where the baughtiness of ber behaviour gave bim no small offence. Knowing his tast and character, she made him the promise of some present, very agreeable, but disobliged him the more by not performing it: he does not tell us what it was; but from the hints which he drops, it feems to have been statues or curiosities from Egypt, for the ornament of bis Library; a fort of furniture, which he was peculiarly fond of But her pride being mornified by Caefar's face. The was now forced to apply to him by her Ministers for his affistance in a partigular fuit, that the was recommending to the Senate, in which he refused to be concerned. The affair feems to have related to ber Infant Son, whom the pretended to be Cæfar's, and called by his name; and was labouring to get भवताराजी दलक राजधानक

[[]e] Antonius ad me tantum fibi effe gratam, & mihi magde Clodio rescripsit, meam næ voluptati fore. Ad. Att. lenitatem & clementiam &

him acknowledged as such at Rome, and declared A. Urb. 709. the Heir of ber Kingdom; as he was the year following, both by Antony and Octavius; though M. ANTONI-Cæfar's friends were generally foandalized at it, us. P. Conand Oppius thought it worth while to write a NELIUS Dobook, to prove, that the child could not be Ca- LABELLA. far's If . Cleopatra had been waiting to accompany Cæfar into the East, in order to preferve her influence over him, which was very great: for after his death. Helvius Cinna, one of the Tribuns, owned, that he had a law neady prepared and delivered to bim by Cafar, with orders to publish it, as soon as he was gone, for granting to him the liberty of taking what number of wives, and of what condition be thought fit, for the fake of propagating Children [g]. This was contrived probably to fave Cleopatra's honor, and to legitimate his iffue by her; fince polygamy, and the marriage of a stranger, were prohibited by the laws of Rome.

- Cicaro touches these particulars in several places, the darkly and abruptly, according to the stile of his Letters to Atticus. "The flight of the Queen, fays he, gives me no pain. I 66 should be glad to hear, what farther news there is of her, and her young Cafar. I hate the Queen: her Agent, Ammonius, the wit-" ness and sponsor of her promises to me, knows that I have reason; they were things onely proper for a man of letters, and furtable to -08 cherry parties of a C 4 igner for the of the my

perbiam autem iplianikegine. quali plane defensione ac pa- paratamque legem, quam Cæedidit, non effe Cæfaris fili- effet, ut uxores liberorum Sueton J. Caf. 52. vid. Dio. quot ducere vellet, liceret. p. 227, 345. Suet. ib. Dio. 243.

(f) Quorum C. Oppius, fessus et, habuisse se scriptam um, quem Cleopatra dicat. quærandorum causa, quas &

Cic. 63. Coff. M. Antoni-LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709. " my character; so that I should not scruple " to proclame them from the Rostra. Her " other Agent, Sara, is not onely a rascal, but us. P. Con- " has been rude to me. I never faw him at my NELIUS Do. " House but once; and when I asked him civilly, what commands he had for me, he faid, " that he came to look for Atticus. As to the

" pride of the Queen, when I faw her in the "Gardens. I can never think of it without re-

" fentment: I will have nothing therefore to " do with them : they take me to have neither

" fpirit, nor even feeling left [b]."

ANTONY having put his affairs into the best train that he could, and appointed the first of June for a meeting of the Senate, in order to deliberate on the state of the Republic, took the opportunity of that interval to make a progress thro' Italy, for the fake of visiting the quarters of the veteran foldiers, and engaging them to his fervice, by all forts of bribes and promifes. He left the government of the City to Dolabella, whom Cæsar, upon his intended expedition to Parthia, had defigned and nominated to the Confulship: and though Antony had protested against that designation, and resolved to obftruct its effect, yet after Cæfar's death, when Dolabella

in me contumacem. Semel

[b] Reginæ fuga mihi non eum omnino domi meæ vidi. molesta. [Ad Att. 14. 8.] de Cum elhopegres ex eo qua-Regina velim, atque etiam de rerem, quid opus esset, Atti-Cæfare illo. [ib. 20.] Regi- cum se dixit quærere. Sunam odi. Me jure facere scit perbiam autem ipsius Regina, sponsor promissorum ejus cum esset trans Tiberim in Ammonius; quæ quidem e-rant φιλόλομα, & dignitatis magno dolore non possum. meæ, ut vel in concione dicere auderem. Saram autem, tam animum me, quam vix præterquam quod nefarium stomachum habere arbitranhominem cognovi, præterea tur. Ib. 15. 15. Dolabella, by the advantage of the general con- A. Urb. 709. fusion, seized the ensigns of the office, and assumed the babit and character of the conful, Antony qui- M. ANTONIetly received, and acknowledged bim as such at the us. P. Con-

next meeting of the Senate [1].

CICERO had always kept up a fair correfoondence with his fon in law, tho' he had long known him to be void of all virtue and good principles: but he had now greater reason than ever for infinuating himfelf, as far as he was able, into his confidence; in order to engage him, if possible, to the interests of the Republic, and use him as a check upon the designs of his collegue Antony; in which he had the greater prospect of success, on the account of their declared enmity to each other. Dolabella greatly confirmed these hopes; and as soon as Antony had left the City, made all honest men think themselves fure of him, by exerting a most severe, as well as feafonable act of discipline, upon the disturbers of the public tranquillity. For the mob. headed by the Impostor Marius, and the freedmen of Cæsar, bad eretted an altar in the Forum, on the spot where Casar's body was burnt; with a Pillar of Numidian Marble, twenty feet bigb, inferibed to the Father of his country. Here they performed daily facrifices and divine rites; and the humour of worshipping at this new altar began to spread itself so fast among the meaner fort, and the flaves, as to endanger the peace and safety of the City: for the multitudes which flocked to the place, fired with a kind of enthuliastic rage, ran furious about the streets committing all forts of outrage and violence

NELIUS Do-LABELLA.

[[]i] Toum Collegam, de- ciante, illo primo die Collepositis inimicitiis, oblitus au- gam tibi esse voluisti-Phil, spicia, te ipso Augure nun- 1. 13.

Cic. 63. Coff. LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709 against the supposed friends of liberty. But Dolabella put an end to the evil at once, by de-M. ANTONI. molishing the Pillar, and the Altar, and seizing the us. P. Con- authors of the diforders; and causing such of them, NALIUS Do as were free, to be thrown down the Tarpeian Rock, and the flaves to be crucified. This gave an universal joy to the City: the whole body of the people attended the Conful to his boule; and in the Theaters gave bim the usual testimony of their thanks, by the loudest acclamations [k].

CICERO was infinitely pleased with this act, and enjoyed some share of the praise, since it was generally imputed to the influence of his councils: in a Letter upon it to Atticus; "O " my admirable Dolabella! fays he, I now call "him mine; for, believe me, I had some doubt " of him before: the fact affords matter of great " speculation : to throw them down the Rock; to " enucify; demolish the Pillar; pave the area; " in fhort, it is heroic. He has extinguished " all appearance of that regret for Cæfar, which " was spreading every day so fast, that I began "to apprehend fome danger to our Tyrant-" killers: but I now agree with you, and con-" ceive better hopes, &c. [1]. Again; O the System to THE HATHER OF BIS COUNT

ro statuit, scriptisque Parenti Patriæ, apud eandem longo Empore ferificare, vota fufdipere controverfise qualdem, interpolito per Cæsarem jure-jurando, distrahere perseveravit. Seet. J. Caf. 85.

Manabat enim illud malum urbanum, & ita corrorem urbano. Ep. fam. 12. L. [A] Ad Att. 14. 15.

[4] Plebs-poftes folidam Nam cum ferperet in urbe columnism prope viginti pe- infinitum malum-se quotidum lapidis Numidici in Fo- die magis magisque perditi homines, cum sui similibus fervis, tectis & templis urbis minarenter; talis animadverfie fuit Dolobelle, cum in audaces sceleratosque servos, tum in impuros & nefarios cives, talifque everfio illius' execratæ columnæ, &c. Phil. 1. 2.-recordare quæso, Doberabatur quotidie, ut ego labella concensum illum thequidem de urbi & orio diffide- atri-vid ib. 12.

brave act of Dolabella! what a prospect does A. Urb. 709. it give us? I never cease praising and exhort-Cic. 63. " ing him our Brutus, I dare fay, might M. ANTONI-" now walk fafely through the Forum, with a ws. P. Con-" crown of gold upon his head: for who dares NELIUS Do-" molest him, when the rock or the cross is to LABBLUA. " be their fate? and when the very lowest of " the people give fuch proofs of their applaufe " and approbation [m]?" He wrote at the fame

CICERO to DOLABELLA Conful.

time from Baia the following Letter to Dola-

bella himfelf. How here paled it sin de

though oppressed with pain in "THOUGH I was content, my Dolabella, " with your glory, and reaped a sufficiency of pleasure from it, yet I cannot but own, that it gives me an inexpressible joy, to find the " world ascribing to me also some share in your praises. I have met with no body here, tho "I fee to much company every day (for there are many worthy men now at this place for the lake of their health, and many of my ac-" quaintance from the great towns) who, after extolling you to the ficies, does not give "thanks prefently to me; not doubting, as "they all fay, but it is by my precepts and advice, that you now hew yourself to be this admirable Citizen, and fingular Conful: and though I could affere them with great truth, " that what you are doing flows wholly from " yourself and your own judgment, and that praises. But to be fert.

[m] O Dolabella nottri d- forum ferre poste: quis enim enne? equidem landare eum aut faxo? prafertim tantis à hortari non desisto-mihi plausibus, tanta approbatione quidem videtur Brutus noster mismosum? ib. 10. jam vel coronam auream per

erseine! quanta est ara Sed- andeat violare proposita onuce

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. M. ANTONI-LABELLA.

" you want not the advice of any one; yet I " neither wholly affent, left I should derogate " from your merit, by making it feem to prous. P. Con- " cede from my counfil; nor do I strongly deneuros Do- " ny it, being myself perhaps more greedy of " glory, than I ought to be. But that can ne-" ver be a diminution to you, which was an " honor even to Agamemnon, the King of "Kings, to have a Nestor for his counsellor: " while it will be glorious to me, to fee a young " Conful, the scholar, as it were, of my disci-" pline, florishing in the midst of applause. "L. Cæsar, when I visited him lately sick at " Naples, though oppressed with pain in every " part of his body, yet before he had even fa-" luted me, could not forbear crying out, O " my Cicero! I congratulate with you on ac-" count of the authority, which you have with "Dolabella; for if I had the fame credit with " my Sifter's Son, Antony, we should all now " be fafe: but as to your Dolabella, I both " congratulate with him, and thank him; fince " from the time of your Confulship, he is the " onely one, whom we can truly call a Conful: " he then enlarged upon your act, and the man-" ner of it; and declared, that nothing was " ever greater, nothing nobler, nothing more " falutary to the state; and this indeed is the " common voice of all. Allow me therefore, " I beg of you, to take some share, tho' it be " a falle one, in the possession of another man's " glory; and admit me in fome degree into a " partnership of your praises. But to be serious, " my Dolabella, for hitherto I have been jo-" king, I would fooner transfer all the credit " that I have to you, if I really have any, than " rob you of any part of yours: for as I have 100 Mayer at " always 46 always had that fincere affection for you, to A. Urb. 709. which you have been no stranger, so now I " am fo charmed by your late conduct, that no M. ANTONI-· love was ever more ardent. For, believe us. P. Con-" me, there is nothing after all more engaging, NELIUS Do-" nothing more beautiful, nothing more love-" ly than virtue. I have ever loved M. Brutus, " you know, for his incomparable parts, fweet " disposition, singular probity, and sirmness of " mind: yet on the Ides of March, such an ac-" cession was made to my love, that I was furof prized to find any room for increase in that, which I had long ago taken to be full and " perfect. Who could have thought it poffi-" ble, that any addition could be made to my " love of you? Yet so much has been added, " that I feem but now at last to love, before "to have onely esteemed you. What is it " therefore that I must now exhort you to? Is " it to pursue the path of dignity and glory? " And as those do, who use to exhort, shall I " propose to you the examples of eminent men? " I can think of none more eminent than your " felf. You must imitate therefore yourself; " contend with yourself; for after such great "things done, it would be a difgrace to you " not to be like yourfelf. Since this then is the " case, there is no occasion to exhort, but to " congratulate with you: for that has happened " to you, which scarce ever happened to any " man, that by the utmost severity of punish-" ing, instead of acquiring odium, you are be-" come popular; and not onely with the better " fort, but the very meanest of the City. " this was owing to fortune, I should congra-" tulate your felicity; but it was owing to the " greatness of your courage, as well as of your Ad intervenire white

Cic. 63. Coff. M. ANTONI-LABELLA.

A. Urb. 200 " parts and wisdom. For I have read your " speech to the people : nothing was ever more " prudent: you enter fo deliberately and gratrs. P. Con- " dually into the reason of your act; and retire NECLUS DOS " from it to artfully, that the cafe itself, in the opinion of all, appears to be ripe for punish-" ment. You have freed us therefore both from our danger and our fears, and have done an es act of the greatest service, not onely to the or present times, but for the example of it also " to posterity. You are to consider, that the " Republic now rests upon your shoulders; and "that it is your part, not onely to protect, but to adorn those men, from whom we have rees ceived this beginning of our liberty: but of " this we shall talk more fully when we meet " again, as I hope we shall shortly: in the mean " while, fince you are now the common guarof dian both of the Republic and of us all, take

care, my dear Dolabella, that you guard " more especially your own fafety [n]."

In this retreat from Rome he had a mind to make an excursion to Greece, and pay a visit to his Son at Athens, whose conduct did not please him, and seemed to require his presence to reform and fet it right [6]. But the news of Dolabella's behaviour, and the hopes which it gave of gaining the onely thing that was wanted, a Head and Leader of their cause, armed with the authority of the state, made him refolye to stay at least till after the first of June, left his absence should be interpreted as a kind of defertion: nor did he ever intend indeed to leave haly, till he could

a blood I demind of Roll

[a] Ep. fam. 9. 14. Att. 14. 13.] magni intereft [o] Quod fentio valde effe Ciceronis, vel mea potius, utile ad confirmationem Ci-vel mehercule utrinsque, me ceronie, me illuc venire. [Ad intervenire discenti. Ib. 16. do it without censure, and to the full satisfaction A. Urb. 709. of Brutus, whom he was determined never to de-

fert on any occasion [p].

HI had frequent meetings and conferences us. P. Cokall this while with his old friends of the oppo- NELIUS Dofite party; the late Ministers of Cæsar's power; Panfa, Hirrius, Balbus, Matius, &c. But Cafar's death, on which their fentiments were very different from his, had in great measure broken their former confidence: and tho' the popularity of the act made them somewhat shy of speaking their minds freely about it, yet he eafily perceived that they were utterly displeased with it, and feemed to want an occasion of revenging it. Panfa and Hirtius, as has been faid, were nominated by Cafar to the confulfhip of the next year; and as Cæfar's acts were ratified by the Senate, were to fuccede to it of course. This made Brutus and Cassius press Cicero earnestly to gain them, if possible, to the Republican side, but especially Hirtius, whom they most suspected. But Cicero feems to have had little hopes of fuccess: his account of them to Atticus is, That there was not one of them who did not "dread peace more than war; that they were " perpetually lamenting the miserable end of so " great's man; and declaring, that the Repub-" lic was ruined by it; that all his acts would be made void, as foon as peoples fears were over; and that clemency was his ruin; fince, " if it had not been for that, he could not have " perished in such a manner: and of Hirtus in particular; he warmly loves him, fays he, e creb shad motor

Municipia, bonique deside-rant. Ib. 20. rant. Ib. 20.

Nec vero discedam, nisi

[p] Nune autem videmur cum tu me id honeste putabis -yid 16, 13.

Coff. M. ANTONI-

Cic. 63. M. ANTONI-LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709. " whom Brutus stabbed: as to their desiring me " to make him better, I am doing my endea-" vour: he talks very honestly, but lives with us. P. Cor- "Balbus; who talks honeftly too: how far NELIUS Do- " they are to be trusted, you must consider [q]."

23

But of all this fet of men, Matius was the most open and explicit, in condemning the act of the Conspirators, so as to put Cicero out of humor with him, as a man irreconcileable to the liberty of the Republic. Cicero called upon him on his way from Rome into the Country, and found him fullen, desponding, and foreboding nothing but wars and desolation, as the certain consequence of Cæsar's death. Among other particulars of their conversation, Matius told him fomething which Cæsar had lately said both of him and Brutus; that he used to say of Brutus, " it was of great consequence which " way he stood inclined, fince whatever he had " a mind to, he purfued with an impetuous " eagerness: that he had remarked this of him " more especially, in his pleading for Deiota-/ " rus at Nicea; where he spoke with a fur-" prizing vehemence and freedom: and of "Cicero, that when he was attending Cæsar, " in the cause of Sestius, Cæsar perceiving him

[9] Minime enim obscurum eft, quid isti moliantur; meus vero discipulus, qui hodie apud me cænat, valde amat illum, quem Brutus nofter sauciavit, & si quæris, perspexi enim plane, timent otium. woodenv autem hanc habent, eamque præ se fe-runt, virum clarissimum interfectum, totam Rempub. illius interitu perturbatam: irrita fore, quæ ille egisset, fimul ac defistemus timere. Clementiam illi malo fuisse: qua si usus non esset, nihil illi tale accidere potuisse. Ad Att. 14. 22.

Quod Hirtium per me meliorem fieri volunt, do equidem operam, & ille optime loquitur, sed vivit habitatque cum Balbo: qui item bene loquitur. Quid credas vides ris. Ib. 20, 21.

New vers discolars, will

Coff.

fitting in the room, and waiting till he was A. Urb. 709. " called, faid; can I doubt of my being ex-" tremely odious, when Cicero fits waiting, M. ANTONI-

" and cannot get access to me: yet if any man us. P. Con-" be easy enough to forgive it, it is he, though NELIUS Do-

"I do not question, but that he really hates LABELLA.

" me [r]."

THERE were feveral reasons however, which made it necessary to these men, to court Cicero at this time as much as ever: for if the Republic happened to recover itself, he was of all men the most capable to protect them on that side: if not, the most able to assist them against Antony, whose designs and success they dreaded still more: for if they must have a new master, they were disposed, for the fake of Cæsar, to prefer his Heir and Nephew Octavius. We find Hirtius and Pansa therefore very assiduous in their observance of him: they spent a great part of the fummer with him at different times in his Villa's, giving him the strongest affurances of their good intentions, and disposition to peace, and that be should be the Arbiter of their future Consulship: and though he continued still to have some distrust of Hirtius, yet Pansa wholly persuaded bim, that be was sincere [s].

VOL. III.

[r] De Bruto nostro—Cæfarem solitum dicere. Magni refert hic quid velit: sed quicquid vult, valde vult. Idque eum animadvertisse cum pro Deiotaro Niceae dixerit, valde vehementer eum visum, & libere dicere. Atque etiam proxime cum Sestii rogatu apud eum fuifquoad vocarer, dixisse eum; 14, 20. it. 15, 1.

ego dubitem quin fummo in odio fim, cum M. Cicero fedeat, nec suo commodo me convenire possit? Atqui si quisquam est facilis, hic est: tamen non dubito, quin me male oderit. Ad Att. 14. 1.

BRUTUS

[s] Cum Pansa vixi in Pompeiano. Is plane mihi probabat, se bene sentire & sem, expectaremque sedens cupere pacem, &c, Ad Att.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coff. M. ANTONIus. P. Cor-LABELLA.

BRUTUS and Cassius continued still near Lanuvium, in the neighbourhood of Cicero's Villa at Aftura, of which, at Cicero's desire, they sometimes made use [t]: being yet irresolute, NELIUS Do- what measures they should take; they kept themselves quiet and retired, expecting what time and chance would offer; and waiting particularly to fee what humor the Confuls would be in at the next meeting of the Senate, with regard to themselves and the Republic: and fince they were driven from the discharge of their Prætorship in the City, they contrived to put the people in mind of them from time to time by their edicts, in which they made the Arongest professions of their pacific disposition. and declared, " that their conduct should give on handle for a civil war; and that they would submit to a perpetual exil, if it would contribute in any manner to the public con-66 cord, being content with the consciousness of their act, as the greatest honor which they " could enjoy [u]." Their present design was to come to Rome on the first of June, and take their places in the Senate, if it should be thought adviseable; or to present themselves at least in the Rostra, and try the affections of the people, for whom Brutus was preparing a fpeech. They fent to know Cicero's opinion of this project, with the copy also of that speech which Brutus

[1] Velim mehercule A. belli civilis præbituros matefluræ Brutus. [Ad Att. 14. riam, plurimum fibi honoris 11.] Brutum apud me fuiffe effe in conscientia facti fui, gaudeo: modo & libenter &c. [Vell. P. 2. 62.] Edifuerit & fat din. Ib. 19. 3. ctum Bruti & Caffii probo. [u] Testati edictis, liben- [Ad Att. 14. 20] De quibus ter se vel in perpetuo exilio tu bonam spem te habere sigvinturos, dum Reipub. con- nificas propter edictorum huflaret concordia, nec ullam manitatem. Ib. 15.1.

Cic. 63.

made in the Capitol on the day of Cafar's death, A. Urb. 709. begging his revifal and correction of it, in order to it's being published. Cicero, in his account of it M. ANTONIto Atticus, fays, " the Oration is drawn with us. P. Conof the utmost elegance both of sentiments and NELIUS Do-" stile; yet were I to handle the subject, I " should work it up with more fire. of know the character of the speaker: for which er feafon I could not correct it. For in the of feile, in which our friend would excell, and " according to the idea, which he has formed " of the best manner of speaking, he has suc-" ceded fo well, that nothing can be better; " but whether I am in the right or the wrong, "I am of a quite different tast. I wish however, that you would read it, if you have " not already, and let me know what you think of it: though I am afraid, left through the prejudice of your name, you should shew too much of the Attic in your judgement: " yet if you remember the thunder of Demost-"henes, you will perceive, that the greatest of force may consist with the perfection of Attie " elegance [x]."

ATTICUS did not like the fpeech; he thought the manner too cold and spiritless for so great an occasion; and begged of Cicero to draw up another to be published in Brutus's name: but Cicero would not confent to it, thinking the thing itself improper, and knowing, that Brutus would take it ill [y]. In one of his Letters on the subject, "Though you think me in the "wrong, fays he, to imagine, that the Republic depends on Brutus, the fact is certain-" ly fo: there will either be none at all, or it " will be faved by him and his accomplices.

nex

fan

COL

Fai

wit

me

pre

be

pr

of

of

d

a

P

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

As to your urging me to write a speech for " him, take it from me, my Atticus, as a ge-" neral Rule, which by long experience I have " found to be true, that there never was a Poet " or Orator, who thought any one preferable " to himself: this is the case even with bad " ones: what shall we think then of Brutus, "who has both wit and learning? especially " after the late experiment of him, in the case of the edict: I drew up one for him at your defire: I liked mine; he his: besides, when at his earnest sollicitation I addressed to him " my Treatise on the best manner of speaking, he wrote word, nor onely to me, but to you too, that the kind of eloquence which I recom-" mended, did not please him. Let every one " therefore compose for himself-I wish onely " that it may be in his power to make a speech " at all; for if ever he can appear again with " fafety at Rome, we have gained the victo-" ry [z]."

In this interval a new Actor appear'd on the stage, who, tho' hitherto but little considered, soon made the first figure upon it, and drew all peoples eyes towards him, the young Octavius, who was left by his uncle Cæsar, the heir of his name and estate. He had been sent a sew months before to Apollonia, a celebrated Academy, or school of learning in Macedonia, there to wait for his uncle on his way to the Parthian war, in which he was to attend him: but the news of Cæsar's death soon brought him back to Italy, to try what fortunes he could carve for himself, by the credit of his new name, and the help of his uncle's friends. He arrived at Naples on the eighteenth of April, whither Balbus went the

Cic. 62.

Coff.

next morning to receive him, and returned the A. Urb. 709. fame day to Cicero near Cume, having first conducted Octavius to the adjoining Villa of bis M. ANTONIS Father in law Philip: Hirtius and Pansa were us. P. Conwith Cicero at the fame time, to whom they im. NELIUS Demediately presented Octavius with the strongest professions on the part of the young man, that be would be governed intirely by bis direction. [a]

THE fole pretention, which he avowed at present, was, to affert his right to the succession of his uncle's estate, and to claim the possession of it: but this was thought an attempt too hardy and dangerous for a mere boy, scarce yet above eighteen years old; for the Republican party had great reason to be jealous of him, lest with the inheritance of the Estate, he should grasp at the power of his uncle; and Antony still more, who had destined that succession to himfelf, and already feized the effects, left by the advantage of all that wealth, Octavius might be in a condition to make head against him, The mother therefore and her husband Philip, out of concern for his fafety, pressed him to sufpend bis claim for a while, and not assume an invidious name, before he could fee what turn the public affairs would take: but he was of too great a spirit to relish any suggestions of caution; declaring it base and infamous to think bimself unworthy of a name, of which Casar had thought bim worthy [b]: and there were many

[a] Octavius Neopolim venit a. d. x1111 Kal. ibi eum Balbus mane postridie; codemque die mecum in Cumano. [Ad Att. 14.10.] Hic mecum Balbus, Hirtius, Panfa. Modo venit Octavius, & quidem in proximam villam bimet ipsum videri indignum. Philippi, mihi totus deditus. 1b. 11.

[6] Non placebat Atiæ matri, Philippoque vitrico, adiri nomen invidiosæ fortunæ Cæfaris - sprevit cælestis animus humana confilia_dictitans nefas esle, quo nomine Cæfari dignus effet visus, fi-Vell. P. 2.60.

A. Urb. 709. Cie. 63. Coff. M. ANTONIus. P. Cor-NELIUS DO. LABELLA.

about him constantly pushing him on, to throw himself upon the affections of the City, and the army, before his enemies had made themselves too ftrong for him; fo that he was on fire to be at Rome, and to enter into action; being determined to risk all his hopes on the credit of his name, and the friends and troops of his uncle.

BEFORE he left the country, Cicero speaking of him to Atticus, fays, "Octavius is still with us, and treats me with the greatest re-" fpect and friendship: his domestics give him " the name of Cæfar: Philip does not; nor for " that reason do I. It is not possible for him, " in my opinion, to make a good Citizen; " there are so many about him, who threaten " the death of our friends: they declare, that " what they have done can never be forgiven, "What will be the case, think you, when the " boy comes to Rome, where our deliverers " cannot shew their heads? who yet must ever be famous, nay, happy too, in the conscious-" ness of their act: but as for us, unless I am " deceived, we shall be undone. I long there-" fore to go abroad, where I may hear no more " of those Pelopida, &c. [c]."

As foon as Octavius came to Rome, he was produced to the people by one of the Tribuns. and made a speech to them from the Rostra.

n

[6] Nobiscum hic perhonorifice & amice Octavius: quem quidem fui Cæfarem falutabant, Philippus non; itaque pe nos quidem: quem nego posse bonum civem, ita multi eireumstant, qui quidem noltris mortem minitantur. Megant hec ferri posse, Quid

censes, cum Romam puer venerit, ubi noffri liberatores tuti esse non possunt? qui quidem semper erunt clari ; conscientia vero facti sui etiam beati: fed nos, nifi me fallit, jacebimus. Itaque aveo exire, ubi nec Pelopidarumad Att. 14. 12.

which was now generally possessed by the ene-A. Urb. 709. mies of Brutus, who were perpetually making Cie. 63. use of the advantage, to instante the mob against M. Antonithim: "Remember, says Cicero, what I tell us. P. Coa"you: this custom of seditious harangues is so NELIUS Do-

"much cherished, that those Heroes of ours, or LABELLA.
"rather Gods, will live indeed in immortal
glory, yet not without envy, and even dan-

" ger! their great comfort however is, the con"fciousness of a most glorious act: but what
"comfort for us, who when our King is killed,

" are not yet free! But fortune must look to

" that, fince reason has no sway-[d]."

OCTAVIUS seconded his speech, by what was like to pleafe the inferior part of the City much better; the representation of public shews and plays in bonor of bis uncle's victories. Cælar had promifed and prepared for them in his lifetime; but those whom he had entrusted with the management, durst not venture to exhibit them after his death, till Octavius, as his beir and representative, undertook the affair, as devolved of course upon bimsets [e]. In these shews Octavius brought out the Golden Chair, which among the other honors decreed to Cælar when living, was ordered to be placed in the Theaters and Circus, as to a Delty, on all solemn occafions [f]. But the Tribuns ordered the Chair to be taken away, upon which the body of the Knights

[d] Sed memento, fic alitur confuetudo perditarum concionum, ur mostri illi non Heroes, sed Dii, futuri quidem in gloria sempiterna sint, sed non sine invidia, ne sine periculo quidem; verum illis magna consolatio, conscientia maximi & clarissimi facti: nobis quæ, qui intersecto

Rege liberi non fumus? sed liæc fortuna viderit, quoniam ratio non gubernat. Ad Att. 14. 11.

[e] Ludos autem victoriæ Cæfaris non audentibus facere, quibus obtigerat id munus, ipfe edidit.—Suet. Aug. x. Dio. p. 272.

[Dio. 44. 243.

Cic. 63. LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709. Knights testified their applause by a general clap. Atticus fent an account of this to Cicero, M. Antoni- which was very agreeable to him [g]: but he us. P. Con- was not at all pleased with Octavius's conduct, NELIUS Do- since it indicated a spirit determined to revive the memory, and to avenge the death of Cæfar: and he was the less pleased to hear also, that Matius bad taken upon bim the care of these [hews [b]; fince it confirmed the suspicion, which he had before conceived of Matius; and made him apprehensive, that he would be an ill Counfellor to young Octavius, in which light he feems to have represented him to Brutus. Matius was informed of these suspicions, and complained to their common friend Trebatius, of Cicero's unkind opinion and unfriendly treatment of him, which gave occasion to the following apology from Cicero, and the answer to it from Matius; which is defervedly valued, not only for the beauty of its fentiments and composition, but for preserving to us a name and character, which was almost lost to History, of a most esteemed and amiable person, who lived in the first degree of confidence with Cæfar, and for parts, learning, and virtue, was scarce inferior to any of that age.

CICERO takes pains to persuade Matius, that he had faid nothing of him, but what was confistent with the strictest friendship; and to gain the easier credit with him, prefaces his apology with a detail and acknowledgement of Matius's perpetual civilities, and observance of him thro' life, even when in the height of his

power

po

CC

66

tus, & Matius ac Postumius procuratores non placent. Ad Att. 15. 2.

Colombia Alebera and eleberation

[[]g] De Sella Cæfaris, bene Tribuni. Præclaros etiam ziv. ordines. Ad Att. 15. 3. [b] Ludorum ejus appara-

power and credit with Cæsar: but when he A. Urb. 709. comes to the point of the complaint, he touches it very tenderly, and observes onely in general, M. ANTONI-"That as Matius's dignity exposed every thing us. P. Con-" which he did to public notice, fo the malice NELIUS Do-" of the world interpreted fome of his acts " more hardly than they deferved: that it was " his care always to give the most savourable turn to them — but you, fays he, a man " of the greatest learning, are not ignorant; " that if Cæfar was in fact a King, as I indeed " look upon him to have been, there are two " ways of confidering the case of your duty: " either that, which I commonly take, of ex-" tolling your fidelity and humanity, in shew-" ing so much affection even to a dead friend; or the other, which some people use; that " the liberty of our Country ought to be pre-" ferred to the life of any friend. I wish that " you had heard with what zeal I used to de-" fend you in these conversations: but there are "two things especially, that make the princi-" pal part of your praise, which no man speaks " of more frequently or more freely than I; " that you, of all Cæsar's friends, were the " most active both in disfuading the civil war, " and in moderating the victory; in which I " have met with no body who does not agree " with me, &c. [i]."

MATIUS to CICERO.

"Your Letter gave me great pleasure, by letting me see that you retain still that favorable opinion of me, which I had always hoped and wished; and tho I had never indeed any doubt of it, yet for the high value that

A. Urb. 709. " I fet upon it, I was very follicitous that it Cic. 63. Coff. M. ANTONIus. P. Con-LABELLA.

should remain always inviolable: I was con-" scious to myself, that I had done nothing " which could reasonably give offence to any nerius Do- " honest man; and did not imagine therefore, that a person of your great and excellent ac-" complishments could be induced to take any " without reason, especially against one, who had always professed, and still continued to " profes, a fincere good-will to you. Since all " this then stands just as I wish it, I will now " give an answer to those accusations, from " which you, agreeably to your character, out " of your fingular goodness and friendship, have " fo often defended me. I am no stranger to " what has been faid of me by certain perfons, " fince Cæfar's death: they call it a crime in " me, that I am concerned for the loss of an " intimate friend, and forry that the man whom " I loved met with fo unhappy a fate: they " fay, that our Country ought to be preferred " to any friendship, as if they had already made " it evident, that his death was of fervice to the " Republic: but I will not deal craftily: I own " myself not to be arrived at that degree of " wildom; nor did I yet follow Cæfar in our " late diffentions, but my friend; whom tho' " displeased with the thing, I could not desert: " for I never approved the civil war, or the " cause of it; but took all possible pains to " stifle it in its birth. Upon the victory there-" fore of a familiar friend, I was not eager ei-" ther to advance, or to enrich myfelf: an ad-" vantage, which others, who had lefs interest " with him than I, abused to great excess. Nay, " my circumstances were even hurt by Cæfar's s law, to whose kindness the greatest part of " those,

Cic. 63.

sthose, who now rejoice at his death, owed A. Urb. 709. 46 their very continuance in the City. I folli-" cited the pardon of the vanquished with the M. ANTONI-" fame zeal, as if it had been for myfelf. Is it us. P. Con-" possible therefore for me, who labored to pro- NELIUS Do-" cure the fafety of all, not to be concerned for LABELLA. " the death of him, from whom I used to pro-" cure it? especially when the very same men, " who were the cause of making him odious, were the authors also of destroying him. But " I shall have cause, they fay, to repent, for " daring to condemn their act. Unheard of " infolence! that it should be allowed to some to glory in a wicked action, yet not to others, even to grieve at it without punishment. But 46 this was always free even to flaves, to fear, " rejoice, and grieve by their own will, not that of another; which yet these men, who " call themselves the authors of liberty, are en-" deavouring to extort from us by the force of " terror. But they may spare their threats: for " no danger shall terrify me from performing " my duty and the offices of humanity: fince it 44 was always my opinion, that an honest death was never to be avoided, often even to be " fought. But why are they angry with me, for " withing onely, that they may repent of their " act? I wish that all the world may regret " Cæfar's death. But I ought, they fay, as a " member of civil fociety, to wish the good and " fafety of the Republic. If my past life and " future hopes do not already prove that I wish " it, without my faying fo, I will not pretend " to evince it by argument. I beg of you there-" fore in the ftrongest terms, to attend to facts " rather than to words: and if you think it the " most useful to one in my circumstances, that " what

Cic. 63. Coff. LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709. c what is right should take place; never ima-" gine, that I can have any union or commerce M. ANTONI- " with ill-defigning men. I acted the fame Us. P. Con- " part in my youth, where to mistake would NELIUS Do- « have been pardonable; shall I then undo it all " again, and renounce my principle in my de-" clining age? No; it is my resolution to do " nothing that can give any offence; except it " be. when I lament the cruel fate of a dear " friend and illustrious man. If I were in diffeer rent fentiments, I would never disown what " I was doing; left I should be thought, not " only wicked for purfuing what was wrong, " but false and cowardly for diffembling it. But " I undertook the care of the shews, which " young Cæfar exhibited for the victory of his " uncle: this was an affair of private, not of " public duty: it was what I ought to have " performed to the memory and honor of my " dead friend; and what I could not therefore deny to a youth of the greatest hopes, and so " highly worthy of Cæfar. But I go often also " to the Conful Antony's to pay my compli-" ments: yet you will find those very men go oftner to ask and receive favours, who reflect ' upon me for it, as disaffected to my Country. "But what arrogance is this? When Cæfar ne-" ver hinder'd me from visiting whom I would; " even those whom he did not care for; that " they who have deprived me of him, should " attempt by their cavils to debar me from pla-" cing my efteem where I think proper. But " I am not afraid, that either the modesty of " my life should not be sufficient to confute all " false reports of me for the future, or that they, who do not love me for my conftancy to Cæ-" far, would not chuse to have their friends re-" femble Thilly

..

" femble me, rather than themselves. For my A. Urb. 709.
" own part, if I could have my wish, I would Cic. 63.
" spend the remainder of my days in quiet at M. ANTONI-

"Rhodes: but if any accident prevent me, will us. P. Corlive in such a manner at Rome, as always to NELIUS Do-

" desire that what is right may prevail. I am greatly obliged to our friend Trebatius, for

" giving me this affurance of your fincere and friendly regard for me, and for making it my

"duty to respect and observe a man, whom I had esteemed always before with inclination.

"Take care of your health, and preferve me

" in your affection — [k]."

ANTONY all this while was not idle; but pushed on his designs with great vigor and address: in his progress through Italy, his business was to gather up Cæsar's old soldiers from the several colonies and quarters in which they were settled; and by large bribes, and larger promises to attach them to his interests, and draw great bodies of them towards Rome to be ready for any purpose, that his affairs should require. In the City likewise he neglected no means, which his Consular authority offered, how unjust or violent soever, of strengthening

[k] Ep. fam. xi. 28. This Cn. Matius lived long afterwards in such favour and familiarity with Augustus, as to be distinguished by the title of Augustus's friend. Yet he seems to have declined all public honors and business, and to have spent the remainder of his days in an elegant and pleasurable retreat; employing his time and studies in the improvements of gardening and planting, as well as in refining the delicacy of

a splendid and luxurious life, which was the general tast of that age. For he first taught how to inoculate and propagate some of their curious and foreign fruits; and introduced the way of cutting trees and groves into regular forms: on which subjects he published several books, which are mentioned by the later writers. Vid Columel. de re rust. l. 12. c. 44. init. Plin. Hist. l. 12. 2: 15. 14.

Cic. 63. LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709 his power; and let all people now fee, for what ends he had provided that decree, to which the M. ANTONI. Senate had consented for the fake of peace, of vs. P. Con- confirming Cafar's alls: for being the master both BELIUS Do- of Cafar's papers, and of his feoretary Faberius, by whose hand they were written [1], he had an opportunity of forging and inferting at pleafure whatever he found of use to him : which he practifed without any referve or management; felling publicly for money, whatever immunities were defired, by Countries, Cities, Princes, or private Men, on pretence, that they bad been granted by Cafar, and entered into his books. This alarmed and shocked all honest men, who saw the mischief, but knew no remedy: Antony had the power, and their own decree had justified it: Cicero complains of it heavily, in many of his Letters, and declares it. a thousand times better to die than to suffer it [m]. "Is it so then? fays he; is all, that our Brutus has done, come to this, that he might " live at last at Lanuvium? That Trebonius " might fleal away through private roads to his " province? That all the acts, writings, fayings, promifes, thoughts of Caefar thould have greater force now, than when he him-" felf was living?" All which he charges to that miltake of the first day, in not summoning the Senate into the Capitol, where they might have done what they pleased, when their own party was uppermost, and those Robbers, as he calls them, difpersed and dejetted [n].

AMONG

[1] Te imprimare 7 [m] Ep. fa
Belandubjen & Armine Att. 14.9. Kairup ogleiov, is mire & tuns Brutus egit, ut Lunn 529.

[m] Ep. fam. 12. 1. Ad

τα οί πειθέμθρον. App.]. 3, vii effet? un Trebonius ittneribus

Cic. 63.

Coff.

AMONG the other acts, which Antony con- A. Urb. 709. firmed, on the pretence of their being ordered by Cæfar, be granted the freedom of the City to all M. ANTONI-Sicily, and restored to King Dejotarus all bis for- us. P. Conmer dominions. Cicero speaks of this with great NELIUS Doindignation; "O my Atticus, fays he, the Ides LABELLA. of March have given us nothing, but the joy " of revenging ourselves on him, whom we " had reason to hate - it was a brave act, " but left imperfect you know what a " kindness I have for the Sicilians; that I efteem it an honor to be their Patron: Cæfar grant-" ed them many privileges, which I did not " diflike; though his giving them the rights of "Latium was intollerable: yet that was nothing to what Antony has done, who for a large " fumm of money has published a law, pre-" tended to be made by the Dictator, in an af-" fembly of the people, though we never heard " a fyllable of it in his life time, which makes " them all Citizens of Rome. Is not Deiota-" rus's case just the same? He is worthy indeed " of any Kingdom; but not by the grant of "Fulvia: there are a thousand instances of the " fame fort [0]." When this last act was hung up as usual in the Capitol, among the public monuments of the City, the forgery appeared fo gross, that the people, in the midst of their concern, could not help laughing at it; knowing, that Cæfar bated no man fo much as Deiotarus. But the bargain was made in Fulvia's apartments, for the fumm of eighty thousand pounds, by the King's agents at Rome, without confulting Cicero,

neribus deviis proficisceretur rent, quam fi iple viveret? in previnciam? nt omnia &c Ad Att. 14. 10. facta, feripta, dicla, promif- [a] Ad Att. 14. 12. fa, cogitata Cafaris plus vale-

LABELLA.

A. Urb. 799. Cicero, or any other of their Master's friends: yet the old King, it feems, was beforehand with M. ANTONI- them, and no fooner heard of Cafar's death, than ws. P. Con he feized upon his dominions again by force. NELIUS Do- 16 He knew it, says Cicero, to be an universal " right, that what Tyrants had forcibly taken away, the true owners might recover when-" ever they were able: - he acted like a man. " but we contemptibly; who whilft we hate " the author, yet maintain his acts [p]." By these methods Antony presently amassed infinite fums of money; for tho' at the time of Cæfar's death he owed, as Cicero told him, above three bundred thousand pounds, yet within less than a fortnight after it be bad paid off the whole debt [9].

THERE was another instance of his violence. which gave still greater offence to the City; bis feizing the public treasure, which Cæsar had depolited for the occasions of the government, in the Temple of Opis, amounting to above five millions and a balf of our money; besides what Calpurnia, Cæsar's wife, from bis private treasure, had delivered into his hands, computed at about another million. This was no extraordinary fumm, if we confider the vaftness of the mine from which it was drawn, the extent of the Roman Empire; and that Cæsar was of all men

the

[p] Syngrapha H. S. centies per legatos,-fine nostra, fine reliquorum hospitum Regis fententia, facta in gynæceo: quo in loco plurimæ res venierunt, & veneunt-Rex enim ipfe sua sponte, nullis commentariis Cæsaris, simul atque audivit ejus interitum, fuo marte res fuas recuperavit. Sciebat homo fapiens, jus semper hoe fuisse, ut,

quæ Tyranni eripuissent, ea Tyrannis interfectis, ii quibus erepta essent, recuperarent-Ille vir fuit, nos quidem contemnendi, qui auctorem odimus, acta defendimus. Phil. 2. 37.

[9] Tu autem quadringenties H. S. quod Idibus martiis debuisti, quonam in odo ante Kalendas Aprilis debere defifti?-Phil. 2. 37.

the most rapacious in extorting it; Cicero, al- A. Urb. 709. luding to the manner in which it was raifed, calls it a bloody and deadly treasure, gathered from the M. ANTONIspoils and ruin of the subjects; which, if it were us. P. Cornot restored, as it ought to be, to the true owners, NELIUS Domight have been of great service to the public, to-

wards easing them of their taxes [r].

BUT Antony, who followed Cæfar's maxims, took care to fecure it to himself: the use of it was to purchase soldiers; and he was now in condition to outbid any Competitor: but the first purchase that he made with it, was of bis Collegue Dolabella, who had long been oppreffed with the load of his debts, and whom, by a part of this money, and the promife of a farther share in the plunder of the Empire, he drew intirely from Cicero and the Republican party, into his own measures. This was an acquisition worth any price to him: the general inclination both of the City and the Country was clearly against him: the Town of Puteoli, one of the most considerable of Italy, had lately chosen the Two Brutus's and Cashus for their Patrons [s], and there wanted nothing but a Leader to arm the whole Empire in that cause: Dolabella seemed to be that very person, till bribed, as Cicero fays, by force of money, be not onely deserted, but overturned the Republic [t].

[r] Ubi est septies millies H. S. quod in tabulis, quæ funt ad Opis patebat? funestæ illius quidem pecuniæ, fed tamen, fi iis, quorum erat, non redderetur, quæ nos a tributis posset vindicare. Phil. 2. 37. it. Phil. 1. 7. it. Plutarch. in Ant.

[1] Vexavit Puteolanos, 15.

quod Cassium & Brutus Patronos adoptassent. Phil. 2.

THESE

[1] Ut illum oderim, quod cum Rempub. me auctore defendere cæpisset, non modo deseruerit, emptus pecunia, fed etiam quantum in iplo fuit, everterit. Ad Att. 16.

Cic. 63.

Cic. 63. LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709. THESE proceedings, which were preparatery to the appointed meeting of the Senate on the M. ANTONI- first of June, began to open Brutus's eyes, and us. P. Cor. convince him of the miltake of his pacific mea-NELIUS Do- fures, and favorable thoughts of Antony: he now faw that there was no good to be expected from him, or from the Senate itself, under his influence: and thought it time therefore, in concert with Cassius, to require an explicit account of his intentions, and to exposulate with him gently in the following Letter.

BRUTUS and CASSIUS Prætors, to M. ANTONIUS Conful.

" If we were not perfuaded of your fincerity " and good-will to us, we should not have " written this to you; which, out of the kind "disposition that you bear to us, you will take " without doubt in good part. We are in-" formed that a great multitude of veteran Sol-" diers is already come to Rome, and a much " greater expected there on the first of June. "If we could harbour any fuspicion or fear of " you, we should be unlike ourselves: yet sureif ly, after we had put ourselves into your " power, and by your advice dismissed the " friends, whom we had about us from the " great Towns, and that not onely by public " Edict, but by private Letters, we deserve to " be made acquainted with your defigns; efpe-" cially in an affair which relates to ourselves. "We beg of you therefore to let us know what vour intentions are with regard to us. Do " you think that we can be fafe in fuch a croud " of Veterans? Who have thoughts, we hear, " even of rebuilding the Altar; which no man " can defire or approve, who wishes our fafety

** and honor. That we had no other view A. Urb. 709.

"from the first but peace, nor sought any thing Cic. 63.

"else but the public liberty, the event shews. M. Antoni
"No body can deceive us, but you; which is us. P. Cor
not certainly agreeable to your virtue and in
NELIUS Do-

"tegrity: but no man else has it in his power to deceive us. We trusted, and shall trust to you alone. Our friends are under the greatest apprehensions for us: for though they are

" persuaded of your integrity, yet they restect, that a multitude of Veterans may sooner be

" pushed on to any violence by others, than reftrained by you. We desire an explicit

" answer to all particulars: for it is filly and trifling to tell us, that the Veterans are called

" together, because you intend to move the "Senate in their favor in June: for who do

you think will hinder it, when it is certain

" that we shall not? No body ought to think us too fond of life, when nothing can hap-

" pen to us, but with the ruin and confusion

" of all things [u]."

DURING Cicero's stay in the Country, where he had a perpetual resort of his friends to him, and where his thoughts seemed to be always employed on the Republic, yet he found leisure to write several of those Philosophical pieces, which still subsist both to the pleasure and benefit of mankind. For he now composed his Treatise on the Nature of the Gods, in three books, addressed to Brutus; containing the opinions of all the Philosophers, who had ever written any thing on that argument: to which he bespeaks the attention of his readers, as to a subject of the last importance; which would inform them what they ought to think of religion, piety, sansity, ceremonies.

Cic. 63. Coff. M. ANTONI-NELIUS Do-LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709. remonies, faith, oaths, temples, &c. since all these were included in that single question of the Gods [x]. He drew up likewise his discourse on Divinaus. P. Con- tion, or the foreknowledge and prediction of future events, and the several ways by which it was supposed to be acquired or communicated to man: where he explanes in two books whatever could be faid for and against the actual existence of the thing itself. Both these pieces are written in the way of dialogue; of which he gives the following account. "Since Carneades, fays he, " has argued both acutely and copiously against "Divination, in answer to the Stoics, I am now " inquiring what judgement we ought to form " concerning it: and for fear of giving my af-" fent rashly to a thing, either false in itself, or " not fufficiently understood, I think it best to "do, what I have already done, in my three " books on the nature of the Gods, weigh and " compare diligently all the arguments with " each other: for as rashness of affent and er-" ror is in all cases shameful, so most of all in " that, where we are to judge what stress is to " be laid on auspices, and things of a divine and " religious nature ; for the danger is, left either " by neglecting them, we involve ourfelves in " an impiety, or by embracing them, in an old " woman's superstition [y]." He now also wrote his piece on the advantages of old age, called Cato, from the chief speaker in the Dialogue: he addressed it to Atticus, as a lecture of common comfort to them both, in that gloomy scene of life on which they were entring; baving found so much pleasure, he says, in writing it, that it not onely eased him of all the complaints of age, but made age itself even agreeable

and chearful to him [2]. He added foon after A. Urb. 709. another present of the same kind to Atticus, a Cic. 63. Treatise on friendship: a subject, he says, both M. ANTONIworthy to be known to all, and peculiarly adapted us. P. Corto the case of their particular intimacy: for as I NELIUS Dobave already written of age, an old man to an old LABELLA. man; so now in the person of a sincere friend, I write on friendship to my friend. This is written also in Dialogue, the chief speaker of which is Lælius: who in a conversation with his two fons in law, Fannius and Scævola, upon the death of P. Scipio and the memorable friend-Thip that had subsisted between them, took occasion, at their defire, to explane to them the nature and benefits of true friendship. Scævola, who lived to a great age, and loved to retail his old stories to his fcholars, used to relate to them with pleasure all the particulars of this Dialogue, which Cicero having committed to his memory, dreffed up afterwards in his own manner into the present form [a]. Thus this agreeable book, which when confidered onely as an invention or effay, is one of the most entertaining pieces in antiquity, must needs affect us more warmly, when it is found at last to be a History, or a picture drawn from the life, exhibiting the real characters and fentiments of the best and greatest men of Rome. He now also wrote his discourse on Fate; which was the sub-

[z] Mihi quidem ita jucunda hujus libri confectio
fuit, ut non modo omnes abflerserit senectutis molestias,
fed effecerit mollem etiam &
jucundum senectutem. Cato.

Lælii de ar
ab illo secur

[a] Digna mihi res tum omnium cognitione, tum nofira familiaritate yisa est—sed ut tum ad senem senex de Senectute, sic hoc libro ad amicum amicissimus de amicitia scripsi—& cum Scævola—exposuit nobis sermonem Lælii de amicitia, habitum ab illo secum, & cum altero genero C. Fannio, &c.—de Amicit. 1.

LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709. ject of a conversation with Hirtius, in his Villa near Puteoli, where they fpent feveral days to-M. ARTONI- gether in May: and he is supposed to have fivs. P. Con- nished about the same time a Translation of Plato's wallus Do famous Dialogue, called Timœus, on the Nature

and Origin of the Universe.

Bur he was employing himself also upon a work of a different fort, which had been long upon his hands; A History of his own times, or rather of his own conduct; full of free and fevere reflections on those, who had abused their power to the oppression of the Republic, especially Cæfar and Craffus, This he calls his Anecdote; a work not to be published, but to be shewn onely to a few friends, in the manner of Theopompus, an Historian, famed for his fevere and invective stile [b]. Atticus was urging him to put the last hand to it, and to continue it down thro' Cæfar's government: but he chose to referve this last part for a distinct history, in which he defigned to vindicate at large the justice of killing a Tyrant. We meet with several hints of this defign in his Letters: in one to Atticus, he fays, "I have not yet polished my Anecdote " to my mind: as to what you would have me " add, it will require a separate volume: but believe me, I could speak more freely and " with less danger against that detested party, " whilft the Tyrant himself was alive, than now when he is dead. For he, I know not why, " indulged me wonderfully: but now, which " way foever we stir, we are called back, not onely to Cæsar's acts, but to his very thoughts, " Again; I do not well understand what you " would have me write: is it, that the Tyrant was killed according to the strict laws of Ju-' flice ?

[6] Ad Att. 2. 6. Dionys, Halic. Proam. 1.

" stice? Of that I shall both speak and write A. Urb. 709. " my thoughts fully on another occasion [c]." His other friends also feem to have had some no- M. ANTONItice of this work; for Trebonius, in a Letter to Us. P. CORhim from Athens, after reminding him of his NELIUS Dopromise to give him a place in some of his writings, adds, I do not doubt, but that, if you write any thing on the death of Cafar, you will give me not the least share, both of that act, and of your affection [d]. Dion Cassius says, that he delivered this book sealed up to bis son, with strict orders not to read or publish it till after his death; but from this time he never faw his fon, and left the piece probably unfinished; tho' some copies of it afterwards got abroad, from which his commentator, Asconius, has quoted several particulars |e].

In the end of May he began to move towards Rome, in order to affilt at the Senate on the first of June, and proposed to be at Tusculum on the twenty-fixth, of which he gave Atticus notice. There passed all the while a constant commerce of Letters between him and Brutus, who defired a personal conference with him at Lanuvium; in which Cicero resolved to humor him, tho' he

[c] Librum meum illum arendorov nondum, ut volui, perpolivi. Ista vero, quæ tu contexi vis, aliud quoddam feparatum volumen exspectant. Ego autem, credas mihi velim, minore periculo existimo contra illas nefarias partes vivo tyranno dici potuisse, quam mortuo. Ille enim nescio quo pacto ferebat me quidem mirabiliter. Nunc quacunque nos commovimus, ad Cæfaris non modo acta, verum etiam cogitata revoca-

mur. [Ad Att. 14. 17.] Sed parum intelligo quid me velis scribere an fic ut in tyrannum jure optimo cæsum ? multa dicentur, multa scribentur a nobis, sed alio modo ac tempore. Ib. 15.3.

[d] Namque illud non dubito, quin, si quid de interitu Cæsaris scribas, non patiaris me minimam partem & rei & amoris tui ferre. Ep. fam. 12. 16.

[e] Vid. Dio. p. 96. it. Ascon. in Tog. candid.

Cic. 63.

LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709. did not think it prudent at that time, when with-Cic. 63. out any particular use, it would onely give jea-M. Antoni- loufy to Antony. But the nearer he came to the US. P. Con- City, the more he was discouraged from the NELIUS Do- thoughts of entring it : he understood that it was filled with soldiers; that Antony came thither attended by a strong body of them; that all his views were bent on war; and that be designed to transfer the province of Gaul from D. Brutus to himself, by a vote of the people [f]. Hirtius diffuaded his going, and refolved to flay away himfelf; Varro sent him word, that the Veterans talked desperately against all those who did not favor them: Græceius also admonished him, on the part of C. Cassius, to be upon bis guard, for that certain armed men were provided for some attempt at Tusculum. All these informations determined him at last not to venture to the Senate; but to withdraw himself from that City, where be bad not onely florished, he fays, with the greatest, but lived even a slave, with some digmity [g]. The major part of the Senate follow-

> [f] Puto enim nobis Lanuvium eundum, non fine multo sermone_Bruto enim placere, se a me conveniri. O rem odiosam & inexplicabilem! puto me ergo iturum -Antonii confilia narras turbulenta_fed mihi totum ejus confilium ad bellum spectare videtur, fi quidem D. Bruto provincia eripitur. Ad Att.

[2] Hirtius jam in Tusculano eft, mihique, ut absim, vehementer auctor est; & ille quidem periculi causa-Varro autem noster ad me epistolam misit-in qua scriptum erat, veteranos eos, qui rejiciantur-improbissime loqui; ut magno periculo Romæfint futuri, qui ab eorum partibus dissentire videantur, Ib. 5.

Græceius ad me scripsit, C. Cassium ad se scripsisse, homines comparari, qui in Tusculanum armati mitterentur .- Id quidem mihi non videbatur; fed cavendum tamen. Ib. 15. 8.

Mihi vero deliberatum est, ut nunc quidem est, abesse ex ea urbe, in qua non modo florui cum fumma, verum etiam servivi cum aliqua dignitate. Ib. 5.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

ed his example, and fled out of the City, for fear A. Urb. 709. of some violence, leaving the Confuls, with a few of their Creatures, to make what decrees they M. ANTONIus. P. Con-

thought fit [b].

NELIUS DQ-This turn of affairs made Cicero resolve to LABELLA. profecute what he had long been projecting, his voyage to Greece, to spend a few months with his son at Athens. He despaired of any good from these Consuls, and intended to see Rome no more till their fuccessors entered into office; in whose administration he began to place all his hopes. He wrote therefore to Dolabella to procure him the grant of an bonorary Lieutenancy; and left Antony, an angry man, as he calls him, should think himself slighted, he wrote to him too on the same subject. Dolabella immediately named him for one of his own Lieutenants, which answered his purpose still better, for without obliging him to any fervice, or limiting him to any time, it left him at full liberty to go whereever he pleased: so that he readily accepted it, and prepared for his journey [i]. He heard in the mean while from Balbus, that the Senate would be held again on the fifth; when commissions would be granted severally to Brutus and Cassius, to buy up corn in Asia and Sicily, for the use of the Republic: and that it would be decreed also at the same time, that Provinces should be assigned to them, with the other Prætors, at the expiration of the year [k].

THEIR

[b] Kalendis Juniis cum in Senatum, ut erat constitutum, venire vellemus, metu perterriti repente diffugimus. Philip. 2. 42.

[i] Etiam scripfi ad Antonium de legatione, ne, si ad Dolabellam solum scripfissem, iracundus homo commoveretur-[Ad Att. 15. 8.] Sed heus tu,-Dolabella me fibi legavit, &c. ib. 11.

[k] A Balbo redditæ mihi litteræ, fore Nonis Senatum, ut Brutus in Asia, Cassius in Sicilia, frumentum emendum A. Urb. 709. Cie. 63. Coff. M. ANTONI-US. P. COR-MELIUS DO-LABELLA.

THEIR case at this time was very remarkable; it being wholly new in Rome to fee Prators driven out of the City, where their residence was absolutely necessary, and could not legally be dispensed with for above ten days in the year: but Antony readily procured a decree to abfolve them from the laws [1]; being glad to fee them in a fituation fo contemptible; ftript of their power, and fuffering a kind of exile, and depending, as it were, upon him for their protection: their friends therefore at Rome had been foliciting the Senate for some extraordinary employment to be granted to them, to cover the appearance of a flight, and the difgrace of living in banishment, when, invested with one of the first Magistracies of the Republic [m].

This was the ground of the commission just mentioned to buy corn; which seemed however to be below their character, and contrived as an affront to them by Antony, who affected still to speak of them always with the greatest respect [n]. But their friends thought any thing better for them than to sit still in Italy; where their persons were exposed to danger from the veteran soldiers, who were all now in motion; and that this employment would be a security to them for the present, as well as an opportu-

nity

& ad urbem mittendum curarent. O rem miseram! ait, eodem tempore decretum iri, uti is & reliquis Prætoriis provinciæ decernantur. Ib. 9.

[/] Cur M. Brutus, te referente, legibus est solutus, si ab urbe plusquam decem dies absuisset? Phil. 2. 13.

[m] Kai कांग्जांड जंड ठेण्यार्थ-

ορος ταξεν, ενα μι το δο μέσω διάσημα φάγειν νομίζοιντο. Appian. Bell. Civ-1. 4. 622. it. l. 3. 530.

[8] Frumentum imponere—quod munus in Rep. fordidius? [Ad Att. 15. x.] Patriæ liberatores urbe carebant—quos tamen ipsi Consules & in concionibus & in omni sermone laudabant. Phil .1.2.

Cic. 63.

nity of providing for their future fafety, by en- A. Urb. 709. abling them to execute, what they were now meditating, a design of seizing some Provinces M. ANTONIabroad, and arming themselves in defence of the vs. P. Con-Republic: which was what their enemies were NELIUS Domost afraid of, and charged them with publicly, LABELLA. in order to make them odious. Cicero in the mean time, at their defire, had again recommended their interests to Hirtius, who gave him the following answer.

" I wish that Brutus and Cassius could be " prevailed with by you as eafily to lay afide " all crafty counfils, as they can obtain by you " from me whatever they defire. They were " leaving Italy, you fay, when they wrote to vou: whither? or wherefore? do not let " them go, I beseech you, my dear Cicero: " nor fuffer the Republic to be wholly loft; " though overwhelmed indeed already by these " rapines, burnings, murthers. If they are " afraid of any thing, let them be upon their " guard; but act nothing offensively: they " will not, I am confident, gain a tittle the " more by the most vigorous, than the most " pacific measures, if they use but caution. The things which are now ftirring cannot last " long; but if made the subject of war, will " acquire present strength to hurt. Let me know your opinion of what may be expected from them." - Cicero fent him word, that be would be answerable for their attempting nothing desperate; and was informed at the same time by Balbus, that Servilia, Brutus's mother, bad undertaken that they should not leave Italy [o].

[0] Cui rescripsi nihil illos viliam confirmare non discescallidius cogitare, idque con- furos. Ad Att, 15. 6, firmavi - Balbusad me - Ser-

Cic. 63. Coff. NELIUS Do-LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709. SERVILIA, though fifter to Cato, had been one of Cæfar's Mistresses, and next to Cleopatra, M. Antoni- the most beloved of them all: in the civil war us. P. Con- he gave her several rich farms out of his Pompeian confiscations; and is faid to have bought a fingle jewel for her at the price of about 50,000 l. [p]. She was a woman of spirit and intrigue, in great credit with the Cafarean party, and at this very time possessed the Estate and Villa of Pontius Aquila, one of the Conspirators, which had been confiscated and granted to her by Cæfar. Cicero reckons it among the folæcisms of the times, that the mother of the Tyrant-killer should hold the estate of one of her son's accomplices [q]: yet she had such a share in all the counfils of Brutus, that it made Cicero the less inclined to enter into them, or to be concerned with one whom he could not trust: When he is influenced so much, fays he, by his mother's advice, or at least ber entreaties, why should I interpose myself [r]?

AT their desire however he went over to them at Antium, to affift at a felect council of friends, called to deliberate on what was proper for them to do, with regard to this new commission. There were present among others, Favonius, Servilia, Portia, Brutus's wife, and bis Sister Tertulla, the wife of Cassius: Brutus was much pleafed at his coming, and after the first compliments, begged him to deliver his

opinion

[p] Ante alias dilexit M. Bruti matrem Serviliam,eui Sexagies H. S. margaritam mercatus est, &c. Suet. J. Cæf. 50.

[9] Quin etiam hoc ipso tempore multa imoor lorg:

Pontii Neapolitanum a matre Tyrannoctoni possideri, Ad Att. 14. 21.

[r] Matris confilio cum utatur, vel etiam precibus, quid me interponam? Ad Att. 15. x.

Cic. 63.

opinion to the company on the subject of their A. Urb. 709. meeting. Upon which he presently advised, what he had been confidering on the road, M. ANTONI-"that Brutus should go to Afia, and under- us. P. Cortake the affair of the corn; that the onely NELIUS Do-"thing to be done at present was, to provide LABELLA. " for their fafety; that their fafety was a cer-" tain benefit to the Republic --- here Caf-" fius interrupted him, and, with great fierce-" ness in his looks, protested, that he would " not go to Sicily, nor accept as a favour, what " was intended as an affront; but would go to " Achaia - Brutus faid, that he would go " to Rome, if Cicero thought it proper for " him - but Cicero declared it impossible " for him to be fafe there - but suppo-" fing, fays he, that I could be fafe: why "then, fays Cicero, I should advise it by all " means, as the best thing, which you could " do, and better than any Province - after " much discourse and complaining for the loss of their opportunities, for which Cassius laid " all the blame on D. Brutus, Cicero faid, " that though that was true, yet it was in vain " to talk of what was past; and as the case "then stood, he saw nothing left, but to fol-" low his advice—to which they all at last " feemed to agree, especially, when Servilia " undertook by her mediation, to get the affair " of the corn left out of their commission: and "Brutus confented, that the Plays and Shews, " with which he was to entertain the City short-" ly as Prætor, should be given by proxy in " his absence - Cicero took his leave, "pleased with nothing in the conference, but " the consciousness of having done his duty: for as to the reft, he gave all, he fays, for

A. Urb. 709 "lost; found the vessel, not onely broken, Cic. 63. "but shattered to pieces; and neither prudence, Coss. "reason, or design in what they were doing: Us. P. Cos. "fo that if he had any doubt before, he had use the bound of the best of

LABELLA. " as possible ____[s]."

OCTAVIUS, upon his coming to Rome. was very roughly received by Antony: who despising his age and want of experience, was fo far from treating him as Cæsar's beir, or giving him possession of his estate, that he openly threatened and thwarted him in all his pretenfions, nor would suffer him to be chosen Tribun. to which he aspired, with the seeming savour of the people, in the room of that Cinna, who was killed at Cæsar's funeral [1]. This necesfarily drew the regard of the Republican party towards him; and Cicero began to take the more notice of him in proportion, as Antony grew more and more formidable: at present, he gives the following account of him. " anus, I perceive, has parts and spirit, and " feems to be affected, as we could wish, to-" wards our Heroes: but how far we may trust " his age, name, fuccession, education, is a " matter of great deliberation: his Father in " law, who came to fee me at Aftura, thinks " not at all. He must be cherished however, " if for nothing else, yet to keep him at a di-" stance from Antony. Marcellus acts nobly, " if he instills into him a good disposition to-" wards our friends: he feemed to be much in-" fluenced

[1] Ad Att. 15. 11, 12. versante constibus suis M.
[1] In locum Tribuni pl. Antonio Consule — Sueton.
forte demortui candidatum August. x. Dio. 272. App.
petitorem seostendit—sed ad-

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

44 fluenced by him, but to have no confidence A. Urb. 709. " in Pansa and Hirtius: his natural disposition

" is good, if it does but hold [u]."

In the midst of these affairs, with which his us. P. Conmind, as he complains, was much distracted, NELIUS Dohe purfued his literary studies with his usual ardor; and to avoid the great refort of Company, which interrupted him, at bis bouse near Baiæ, he removed to his Pompeian Villa, on the fouth fide of Naples. Here he began his book of Offices, for the use and instruction of his son, defigned; he fays, to be the fruit of this excursion: he composed also an Oration, adapted to the state of the times, and fent it to Atticus, to be suppressed or published at bis discretion; promising him withal to finish and send him in a short time bis fecret History or Anecdote, in the manner of Heraclides, to be kept close in his Cabinet [x].

BEFORE he could leave Italy, he was obliged to return to Tusculum, to settle his private affairs, and provide his Equipage; and wrote to Dolabella, to give orders for the mules and other necessaries, which the government used to furnish to those who went abroad with a public character [y]. Here Atticus and he took leave of each other, with all possible marks of the most fincere and tender affection. The unfettled con-

dition

["] Ad Att. 15. 12.

[x] Nos hic pixocopy who (quid enim alind)? & mi wei The see Show Of magnifice explicamus, mesque who que Ciceroni; qua de re enim potius pater filio? Deinde alia. Quid quæres? Extabit opera peregri nationis hujus_Ego autem in Pompeianum properabam, non quod hoc loco quidquam pulchrius, fed interpellatores illic minus molefti-

Orationem tibi misi. Ejus custodiendæ & proferendæ arbitrium tuum-jam probo Heganheidlor, præfertim cum tu tantopere delectere-enitar igitur-Ad Att. 15. 13. it. 14. [7] Ib. 18.

Cic. 63. Coff. LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709. dition of the times, and the uncertainty when, or in what circumstances they should meet again. M. ANTONI: raised several melancholy resections in them vs. P. Cor- both, which, as foon as they parted, drew many wellus Do- tears from Atticus, of which he gave Cicero an account in his next letter, with a promise to follow him into Greece: Cicero answered him with equal tenderness; "it moved me, says he, " to hear of the tears which you shed after you " left me: had you done it in my presence. I " should have dropt perhaps all thoughts of my " journey. That part however pleases me, " where you comfort yourfelf with the hopes " of our meeting again shortly: which expe-" ctation indeed is what chiefly supports me: " I will write to you perpetually; give you an " account of every thing which relates to Bru-" tus; fend you very shortly my Treatise on "Glory; and finish for you the other work, to " be lock'd up with your treasure, &c. [z].

> [z] Te, ut a me discesseras, lacrymasse, moleste ferebam. Quod si me præsente fecifies, confilium totius itineris fortasse mutassem. Sed illud præclare, quod te confolata est spes brevi tempore congrediendi: quæ quidem exspectatio me maxime sustentat. Mez tibi litteræ non deerunt. De Bruto scribam ad te omuia. Librum tibi celeriter mittam de gloria. Excudam aliquid Hegnacion, quod lateat in thefauris tuis. Ib. 27.

N. B. The Treatife here mentioned on Glory, which he sent soon after to Atticus, and published in two books, was actually preserved, and fubfifting, long after the invention of printing, yet happened to perish unhappily for want of being produced into public light, by the help of that admirable art_Raimundus Superantius made a prefent of it to Petrarch, who, as he tells the flory in one of his epiftles, lent it to his Schoolmaster, who, being old and poor, pawned it for the relief of his necessities into fome unknown hand. whence Petrareb could never recover it, upon the old man's death. About two centuries THESE little passages from familiar Letters, A. Urb. 709. illustrate more effectually the real characters of Cic. 63. men, than any of their more specious and pub- M. ANTONIlic acts. It is commonly thought the part of a us. P. Corstatesman, to divest himself of every thing na- NELIUS Dotural, and banish every passion that does not ferve his interest or ambition: but here we see a quite different character, one of the greatest statesmen of the world cherishing and cultivating in himself the soft and social affections of love and friendship; as knowing them to be defigned equally by nature for the comfort as well of public as private life.

ATTICUS likewise, whose philosophy was as incompatible as ambition with all affections that did not terminate in himself, was frequently drawn by the goodness of his nature to correct the viciousness of his principle. He had often reproved Cicero for an excess of love to his daughter Tullia, yet he no sooner got a little Attica of his own, than he began to discover the fame fondness; which gave Cicero occasion to repay his raillery with great politeness. " joice,

centuries after, it appeared to have been in the possession of Bernardus Justinianus, and was mentioned in the Catalogue of his books; which he bequeathed to a Monastery of Nuns; but strictest fearch, it was gene-Alcyonius, who was Phyhad stolen it; and after tran- Vol. IV. p. 86, scribing as much of it as he

could, into his own writings, had destroyed the original for fear of a discovery: it being observed by the Critics, that in his book de exilio, there were many bright passages, not well connected when it could not be found with the rest of the work, in that monastery after the which seemed to be above his tast and genius. Vid. rally believed, that Petrus Petrarch. Epist. 1. 15. 1. Rer. Senilium. Paull. Manut. Not. fician to that House, and had Ad Att. 15. 27. Bayle Dict. the free use of the library, in Alcionius. Menagiana,

Cic. 63. Coff. M. ANTONIus. P. Cor-LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709. " joice, fays he, to perceive that you take fo " much delight in your little girl. I love her " already myself, and know her to be amiable,

tho' I have never feen her. Adieu then to NELIUS Do- " Patro, and all your Epicurean School. In

" another Letter; I am mightily pleased with "the fondness that you express for your little

" daughter; and to fee you feel at last, that "the love of our children does not flow from

" habit or fashion, but from nature: for if that " be not fo, there can be no natural conjunction

" between one man and another, without which " all fociety must necessarily be dissolved [a]."

THERE was now great expectation of the shews and plays which Brutus, as Prætor of the City, was going to exhibit, according to annual custom, in honor of Apollo, on the third of Tuly; and all people were attentive and impatient to see in what manner they would be received. Brutus wrote to Cicero, to beg that he would grace them with his presence: but Cicero thought the request absurd, nor at all agreeable to Brutus's usual prudence. His answer was, " that he was got too far upon his journey to " have it now in his power; and that it would " be very improper for him, who had not been

" in Rome fince it was filled with foldiers, not " fo much out of regard to his danger, as his

"dignity, to run thither on a fudden to fee

" plays: that in fuch times as these, though it was reputable for those to give plays, whose

" office required it, yet for his feeing them, as " it

di, tamen & amo, & amabi- 19.-it. 7. 20.

[a] Filiolam tibi jam Ro- lem esse certo scio. Etiam mæ jucundam esle gaudeo; atque etiam valete Patron, & eamque, quam nunquam vi- tui condiscipuli. Ad Att. 5. "it was not necessary, so neither would it be A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Cost. follicitous however, that they might meet with M. Antoniall imaginable encouragement, and charged At-us. P. Corticus to send him a particular account of what Nelius Dopassed on each day from their first opening.

THE fuccess of them answered all their hopes, for they were received with an incredible applause by all ranks, though Antony's brother Caius, as the next Prætor in office, presided at them: one of the plays was Tereus, a Tragedy of Accius; which having many strokes in it on the characters and acts of Tyrants, was infinitely clapped by the people. Atticus performed his part to Cicero, and fent him a punctual account of what passed every day; which he constantly communicated to Brutus, who was now in his neighbourhood; in Nesis, a little Isle on the Campanian shore, the seat of young Lucullus -In his answer to Atticus, "Your Letters, says " he, were very acceptable to Brutus: I fpent " feveral hours with him, foon after I received " them: he seemed to be delighted with the " account of Tereus; and thought himself " more obliged to the Poet Accius, who made " it, than to the Prætor Antony, who presi-" ded at it. But the more joy you fend us of " this fort, the more indignation it gives me,

[b] In quibus unum alienum fumma sua prudentia, id est illud, ut spectem ludos suos. Rescripsi scilicet, primum me jam prosectum, ut non integrum sit. Dein a roman omnino post hæc arma non accesserim, neque id tam periculi mei causa fecerim,

quam dignitatis, subito ad ludos venire. Tali enim tempore ludos facere illi honestum est, cui necesse est: spectare mihi, ut non est necesse, sic ne honestum quidem est. Equidem illos celebrari, & esse quam gratissimos mirabiliter cupio—Ad Att. 15. 26.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIOS. P. CokNELIUS DOLABELLA.

"to fee the Roman people employ their hands in clapping plays, not in defending the Re"public. This perhaps may provoke our ene"mies to discover themselves before they intended it; yet if they be but mortisled, I care
"not by what means [c]." In a speech made afterwards to the Senate, he urges this judgment of the City, as a proper lesson to Antony, to teach him the way to glory. O happy Brutus, says he; who when driven from Rome by force of arms, resided still in the hearts and howels of his Citizens, who made themselves amends for the absence of their deliverer, by their perpetual applauses and acclamations [d].

But there was one thing, which thro' the inadvertency of Brutus's managers, or the contrivance of the Prætor Antony, gave Brutus some uneafiness; that in the Edits for proclaming his shews, the month, instead of Quintilis, was stiled July, by its new name, lately given to it in honor of Cæsar: for it raised great speculation, and was thought strange, that Brutus by Edict, should acknowledge and confirm an

act.

[c] Bruto tuæ litteræ gratæ erant. Fui enim apud illum multas horas in Nefide, cum paullo ante tuas litteras accepissem. Delectari mihi Tereo videbatur; & habere majorem Accio, quam Antonio, gratiam. Mihi autem quo lætiora funt, eo plus stomachi & moleltiæ est, populum Romanum manus fuas, non in defendenda Repub. Ted in plaudendo consumere. Mihi quidem videntur, istorum animi incendi etiam ad repræsentandam improbitatem suam. Sed tamen dum modo doleant aliquid, doleant quodlibet. Ad Att. 16. 2.

[d] Quid? Apollinarium ludorum plausus, vel testimonia potius, & judicia populi Romani parum magna videbantur? O beatos illos, qui cum adesse ipsis propter vim armorum non licebat, aderant tamen, & în medullis populi Romani ac visceribus hærebant! nisi forte Accio tum plaudi... & non Bruto putabatis, &c. Phil. 1. 15.

ranny. This little circumstance greatly disturbed him, imagining, that it would be reflected M. Antoniupon as a mean condescension; and since it could us. P. Cornot be remedied as to the plays, he resolved to correct it for the rest of the shews; and gave immediate orders, that the huntings of the wild beasts, which were to follow, should be proclamed for the thirteenth of Quintilis [e].

WHILE Cicero continued in these parts, he spent the greatest share of his time with Brutus : and as they were one day together, L. Libo came to them, with Letters just received from young S. Pompey, his fon in law, with propofals of an accommodation, addressed to the Confuls, on which he defired their opinion. Cicero thought them drawn with great gravity and propriety of expression, excepting a few inaccuracies, and advised only to change the address; and instead of the Consuls, to whom alone they were directed, to add the other Magistrates, with the Senate and people of Rome, lest the Confuls should suppress them, as belonging onely to themselves. These Letters brought in substance, "that Pom-" pey was now Master of seven Legions; that " as he had just stormed a Town called Borea, " he receiv'd the news of Cæfar's death; which " caused a wonderful joy, and change of affairs " thro' the Province of Spain, and a concourse " of people to him from all parts. The fumm

[e] Quam ille doluit de etiam, quæ postridie ludos Nonis Juliis; mirifice est Apollinares sutura est, proconturbatus. Itaque sesse series foriberent, 111 Id. Quintil. turum aiebat, ut venationem —Ad Att. 16. 4.

" of his demands was, that all who had the command of armies should dismiss them; but to A. Urb. 700. Cic. 63. M. ANTONIus. P. Cox-NELIUS DO. LABELLA.

"Libo he fignified, that unless his Father's " Estate and House at Rome, which Antony

" now possessed, were restored to him, he would

" agree to nothing [f]."

This overture from Pompey was procured chiefly by the management of Lepidus [9]: who having the Province of Spain assigned to him, where Pompey was very strong, had no mind to be engaged in a war at fuch a diffance from Rome, and drawn off from attending to the main point in view, the event of affairs in Italy: for which purpose, on pretence of the public quiet, he made the offer of a treaty and honorable terms to Pompey, and "that, on condi-" tion of laying down his arms, and quitting " the Province, he should be restored to all his " estates and honors, and have the command " of the whole naval power of Rome, in the fame manner as his Father had it before him: "all which was proposed and recommended to " the Senate by Antony himself [b]." Where to preserve a due respect to Cæsar's Acts, by which Pompey's estates had been confiscated, it was decreed, that the same summ, for which they bad been fold, should be given to bim by the public, to enable bim to purchase them again: This amounted to above five millions and a balf of our money, exclusive of bis Tewels, Plate, and furniture; which being wholly embezzled, he was content to lose [i]. On these terms, ratified by the authority

[f] Ibid. it. Phil. 13. 4, 5, &c.

defendimus, Pompeio sua do-[g] Philip. 5. 13, 14, &c. mus patebit, eamque non minoris, quam Antonius e-[b] App. p. 528. Dio. mit, redimet-decrevistis 1. 45. 275.

[i] Salvis enim actis Cæ-quantum ex bonis patriis in prædæ diffinatione inimicus

Cic. 63.

Coff.

NELIUS Do-

authority of the Senate, Pompey actually quitted A. Urb. 709. Spain, and came to Marseilles. The project was wifely concerted by Lepidus and Antony; for M. ANTONIwhile it carried a shew of moderation, and dispo- us. P. Corfition to peace, it disarmed a desperate enemy. who was in condition to give a great obstruction to their designs, and diversion to their arms, at a time when the necessity of their interests required their presence, and whole attention at home. to lay a firm foundation of their power in the

heart and center of the Empire.

THERE happened an incident at this time of a domestic kind, which gave some pleasure both to Cicero and Atticus; the unexpected conversion of their Nephew Quintus. He had long ago deferted his Father and Uncle, and attached himself wholly to Cæsar, who supplied him liberally with money; on Cæfar's death he adhered still to the same cause, and was in the utmost confidence with Antony; and, as Atticus calls him, bis right hand [k]; or the minifter of all his projects in the City; but upon fome late difgust, he began to make overtures to his friends, of coming over to Brutus, pretending to have conceived an abhorrence of Antony's defigns; and fignifying to his Father, that Antony would have engaged him to feize some strong post in the City, and declare bim Distator, and upon his refusal, was become his enemy [1].

victor redegisset-nam argentum, vestrem, supellectilem, vinum amittet æquo animo, quæ ille helluo diffipavit - atque illud fepties millies, quod adoloscenti, Patres conscripti, spopondiflis, ita describetur, ut vide-

atur a vobis Cn. Pompæii filius in patrimonio suo collocatus. Philip. 13.5.

[k] Quintus filius, ut scribis, Antonii est dextella.

Ad Att. 14. 20.

[1] Quintus Pater exultat lætitia. Scripfit enim filius,

Cic. 63. LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709. The Father, overjoyed at this change, carried his fon to Cicero, to perfuade him of his fince-M. Antoni- rity, and to beg his intercession also with Attius. P. Cor- cus, to be reconciled to him: but Cicero, who NELIUS Do- knew the fickleness and perfidy of the youth, gave little credit to him; taking the whole for a contrivance onely to draw money from them; vet in compliance with their request, he wrote what they defired to Atticus; but fent him another Letter at the same time with his real thoughts on the matter.

"Our Nephew Quintus, fays he, promi-" fes to be a very Cato. Both his Father and

" he have been pressing me, that I would un-" dertake for him to you; yet fo, that you

" should not believe him, till you yourself had

" feen the effects of it. I shall give him there-

" fore fuch a Letter to you as he would have; " but let it not move you, for I have written

" this, left you should imagine that I am mo-

" ved myfelf. The Gods grant that he may

es perform what he promises; for it will be a

" common joy to us all. I will fay nothing

" more of it at present, &c. [m]."

BUT young Quintus got the better at last of all Cicero's suspicions; and after spending se-

se ideireo profugere ad Brutum voluisse, quod cum sibi negotium daret Antonius, ut eum Dictatorum efficeret, præsidium occuparet, id recufaffet; recufasse autem fe, ne patris animum offenderit; ex eo fibi illum hostem .-Ad Att. 15. 21.

[m] Quintus filius mihi policetur se Catonem. Egit autem & Pater & Filius, ut

tibi sponderem: sed ita, ut tum crederes, cum ipse cognosces. Huic ego litteras ipsius arbitratu dabo. Eæ ne te moverint; has scripsi in eam partem, ne me motum putares. Dii faxint, ut faciat ea, quæ promittit. Commune enim gaudium. Sed ego nihil dico amplius. Ad Att. 16..1.

veral days with him, convinced him by his A. Urb. 709. whole behaviour and conversation, that he was in earnest: so that he not onely recommended M. ANTONIhim very affectionately to Atticus, but present- us. P. Coned him also to Brutus, to make the offer of his NELIUS Dofervice to him in person: "If he had not whol-

" ly persuaded me, says he, that what I am " faying of him is certainly true, I should not " have done what I am going to tell you: for

"I carried the youth with me to Brutus, who " was fo well fatisfied with him, that he gave

" him full credit, without fuffering me to be " his fponfor: in commending him, he men-

"tioned you in the kindest manner, and at " parting, embraced and kiffed him. Where-

" fore, tho' there is reason rather to congratu-

" late, than to entreat you, yet I beg, that " whatever he may have done hitherto, thro'

"the weakness of age, with more levity than

" became him, you would believe it all to be

" now over, &c. [n]."

QUINTUS kept his word with them; and to give proof of his zeal and fincerity, was fo hardy, before the end of the year, as to undertake to accuse Antony to the people, for plundering the Temple of Opis [o]. But this accident of changing his party, which gave fo much joy at present to the whole family, tho' owing rather

[n] Quod nifi fidem mihi fecisset, judicassemque hoc quod dico firmum fore, non fecissem id, quod dicturus fum. Duxi enim mecum adolescentem ad Brutum: sic ei probatum est, quod ad te fcribo, ut ipfe crediberit, me sponsorem accipere noluerit. Caro

Eumque laudans amiciffime tui mentionem fecerit. Complexus, osculatusque dimiserit. Ad Att. 16. 5.

[o] Quintus scribit, se ex Nonis iis, quibus nos magna gessimus, Ædem Opis explicaturum, idque ad populum. Ibid. 14.

Cic. 63.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coff. M. ANTONI-NELIUS Do-LABELLA.

to a giddiness of temper, than any good principle, proved fatal not long after both to the young man and his Father; as it feems to have Us. P. Cor- been the most probable cause of their being profcribed and murthered the year following, by Antony's order, together with Cicero himself.

CICERO was now ready for his voyage; and had provided three little Yatchts or Galleys to transport himself and his attendants: but as there was a report of Legions arriving daily from abroad, and of Pirates also at sea, he thought it would be fafer to fail in company with Brutus and Cassius, who had drawn together a fleet of good force, which now lay upon the coast [p]. He gave several bints of this defign to Brutus, who received it more coldly than he expected; and feemed uncertain and irrefolute about the time of his own going. He refolved therefore to embark without farther delay, though in some perplexity to the last, about the expediency of the voyage, and jealous of it's being cenfured, as a defertion of his country: but Atticus kept up his Spirits, by affuring him constantly in his Letters, that all people approved it at Rome, provided that he kept his word, of returning by the first of the new Year [q].

HE

[p] Legiones enim adventare dicuntur. Hæc autem navigatio habet quasdam sufpiciones periculi. Itaque constituebam uti ouomhoia. Paratiorem offendi Brutum, quamaudiebam.-Nam Cassii classem, quæ plane bella est, non numero ultra fretrum. Ib. 16. 4.

[9] Bruto cum sæpe injecissem de omazoia, non

perinde atque ego putaram, arripere visus est-[ib. 5.] Confilium meum quod ais quotidie magis laudari, non moleste fero; expectabamque, fi quid ad me seriberes. Ego enim in varios fermones incidebam. Quin etiam idcirco trahebam, ut quam diutissime integrum esset. [ib. 2.] it. Ep. fam. xi. 29.] Scribis enim in cœlum ferri profecti-

HE failed flowly along the coast towards A. Urb. 709. Rhegium, going ashore every night to lodge Cic. 63. with fome Friend or Client: he fpent one day M. ANTONIat Velia, the native place of Trebatius; whence us. P. Conhe wrote a kind Letter to him, dated the nine- NELIUS Doteenth of July; advising him by no means to fell LABELLA. that family estate, as he then designed, situated so bealthfully and agreeably, and affording a convenient retreat from the confusion of the times, among a people, who intirely loved him [r]. At this place he began his Treatife of Topics, or the art of finding arguments on any question: it was an abstract of Aristotle's piece on the same fubject; which Trebatius happening once to meet with in Cicero's Tusculan Library, had begged of him to explain. But Cicero never found leifure for it till this voyage, in which he was reminded of the talk by the fight of Velia; and though he had neither Aristotle, nor any other book to help him, he drew it up from his memory, and finished it as he sailed, before he came to Rhegium; whence he fent it to Trebatius, with a Letter dated the twenty seventh. He excuses the obscurity of it, from the nature of the argument, requiring great attention to understand, and great application to reduce it to practice: in which however he promifes to affift him, if he lived to return, and found the Republic subsisting [s].

Kal. Jan. redeam. Quod Kalendis Jan. quod initium cogendi Senatus fore videbatur. Philip. 1. 2.

[r] Ep. fam. 7. 20. [3] Itaque ut primum Ve-

onem meam, sed ita, si ante lia navigare cœpi, instituti Topica Aristotelea conscribequidem certe enitar. [ib. 6.] re, ab ipsa urbe commonitus. La mente discessi, ut adessem amantissima tui. Eum librum tibi misi Rhegio, scriptum quam plenissime illa res scribi potuit, &c. Ep. fam. 7. 19.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coff. NELIUS Do-LABELLA.

In the same voyage, happening to be looking over his Treatise on the Academic Philosophy, M. Antoni. he observed the Preface of the third back to be us. P. Con- the fame that he had prefixed to bis book on Glory, which he had lately fent to Atticus. It was bis custom, it seems, to prepare at leisure a number of different proems, adapted to the general view of his studies, and ready to be applied to any of his works, which he should afterwards publish; fo that by mistake he had used this preface twice, without remembring it: he composed a new one therefore on ship-board, for the piece on Glory; and fent it to Atticus, with orders, to bind it up with his copy in the place of the former preface [t]. So wonderful was his industry and

> [t] Nunc negligentiam meam cognosce. De Gloria librum ad te misi, at in eo proæmium id est, quod in Academico tertio. Id evenit ob cam rem, quod habeo volumen porcemiorum: ex eo eligere soleo, cum aliquod oignequua institui. Itaque jam in Tufculano, qui non meminissem me abusum isto proœmio, conjeci id in eum librum, quem tibi misi. Cum autem in navi legerem Academicos, agnovi erratum meum, itaque statim novum proœmium exaravi; tibi mifi-Ad Att. 16. 6.

N. B. A Collection of Prefaces prepared before hand, and calculated indifferently for any treatife, will be thought perhaps a strange and fantastical way of compofing: but the' they had no necessary connection with the subject of any particular

work, they were yet adapted to the general view of his writings, and contrived feverally to serve the different ends, which he proposed by the publication of them. Thus in some he takes occafion to celebrate the praises of his principal friends, to whom they were addressed; in others, to enter into a general defence of Philosophy, in answer to those who cenfured him for spending so much time upon it: in some, he represents the miserable flate of the times, and subversion of the Republic, in a manner proper to alarm his Citizens, and rouse them to affert their antient liberty: in others, he contrives to give a beautiful description of fome of his Villas or gardens, where the scene of the dialogue was laid: all which the reader will find very agreealove of letters, that neither the inconvenience A. Urb. 709. of failing, which he always hated, nor the bufy Cic. 63. Coff. thoughts which must needs intrude upon him, M. Antonion leaving Italy in such a conjuncture, could di-us. P. Corsturb the calm and regular pursuit of his NELIUS Doftudies.

FROM Rhegium, or rather Leucopetra, a promontory close by it, he passed over to Syracuse on the first of August: where he staid but one night, though in a City particularly devoted to him, and under his special protection: but he was unwilling to give umbrage or suspicion to those at Rome, of baving any views abroad, which concerned the public [u]: he set sail therefore again the next morning towards Greece; but was driven back by contrary winds to Leucopetra; and after a second attempt with no better success, was forced to repose himself in the Villa of his friend Valerius, and wait for the opportunity of a sair wind [x].

HERE the principal inhabitants of the Country came to pay him their compliments; some of them fresh from Rome, who brought great news of an unexpected turn of affairs there to-

wards

bly executed in the Prefaces of his Philosophical pieces; which are yet connected so artfully with the treatises that follow them, and lead us so naturally into the argument, as if they had been originally contrived for the sake of introducing it. Vid. Tusc. Disp.—Init. de Div. 2. 1. de Fin. 1. 1. de Legib. 2. 1.

[u] Kalendis sextil. veni ipsum locum—[ibid.] ibicum
Syracusas—quæ tamen urbs
mihi conjunctissuma, plus una me nocte cupiens retinere
non potuit. Veritus sum,
—Ad Att. 16, 7.

ne meus repentinus ad meos necessarios adventus suspicionis aliquid afferret, si essem commoratus. Phil. 1. 3.

[x] Cum me ex Sicilia ad Leucopetram, quod est promontorium agri Rhegini, venti detulissent; ab eo loco conscendi, ut transmitterem; nec ita multum provectus, rejectus austro sum in eum ipsum locum—[ibid.] ibicum ventum expectarem: erat enim villa Valerii nostri, ut samiliariter essem, & libenter—Ad Att. 16, 7.

Cic. 63. Coff. M. ANTONIus. P. Cor-NELIUS Do-LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709 wards a general pacification; "That Antony " feemed disposed to listen to reason, to desist " from his pretentions to Gaul; fubmit to the " authority of the Senate; and make up mat-" ters with Brutus and Cassius; who had writ-" ten circular Letters to all the principal Sena-" tors, to beg their attendance in the Senate on " the first of September; and that Cicero's ab-" fence was particularly regretted, and even " blamed at fuch a crifs [y]." This agreeable account of things made him prefently drop all thoughts of pursuing his voyage; in which he was confirmed likewise by Letters from Atticus, who, contrary to his former advice, pressed him now in strong and pathetic terms, to come back again to Rome.

> HE returned therefore by the same course, which he had before taken, and came back to Velia on the seventeenth of August: Brutus lay within three miles of it with his fleet, and hearing of his arrival, came immediately on foot to falute bim: "he declared himself exceedingly " pleased with Cicero's return; owned, that " he had never approved, though he had not " diffuaded the voyage; thinking it indecent, " to give advice to a man of his experience;

> " but now told him plainly, that he had esca-

" ped two great imputations on his character; " the one, of too hasty a despair and desertion

" of the common cause; the other, of the va-

[y] Rhegini quidam, il-Roma sane recentes—hæc afferebant, Edictum Bruti & Cassii; & fore frequentem Senatum Kal. a Bruto & Caffio litteras missas ad Consulares & Prætorios; ut adeffent.

rogare. Summam spem nunluttres homines eo venerunt, ciabant, fore, ut Antonius cederet, res conveniret, noftri Romam redirent. Addebant etiam me desiderari. fub accusari, &c .- Ad Att. . " nity of going to see the Olympic games. This A. Urb. 709. " last, as Cicero says, would have been shame- Cic. 63.

"full for him, in any state of the Republic, but M. ANTONIin the present, unpardonable; and professes. P. Cor-

"himself therefore greatly obliged to the winds NELIUS Do"for preserving him from such an infamy, and LABELLA.

" like good Citizens, blowing him back to the

" fervice of his country [2]."

BRUTUS informed him likewise of what had passed in the senate, on the first of August; and how Pilo had signalized himself by a brave and honest speech, and some vigorous motions in savour of the public liberty, in which no body had the courage to second him: he produced also Antony's Edict, and their answer to it, which pleased Cicero very much: but on the whole, though he was still satisfied with his resolution of returning, yet he sound no such reason for it, as his sirst intelligence had suggested, nor any hopes of doing much service at Rome; where there was not one Senator, who had the courage to support Piso, nor Piso himself the resolution to appear in the Senate again the next day [a].

This was the last conference, that he ever had with Brutus; who together with Cassius lest Italy soon after it: they were both to succeede of course, as all Prætors did at the expiration of their office, to the government of some Province, which was assigned to them either by

lot,

[z] Nam. xvi Kal. Sept. cum venissem Veliam, Brutus audivit, erat enim cum suis navibus apud Heletem suis navibus apud Heletem suis navibus apud Heletem suis navibus apud Heletem suis navibus ad me statim. Dii immortales, quam valde ille reditu, vel potius reversione mea lætatus est?

Effudit illa omnia, quæ tacuerat—se autem lætari quod effugissem duas maximas vituperationes, &c.—Ad Att. 16. 7. Vid. it. Ep. sam. 12. 25. it. ad Brut. 15.

[a] Vid. Ad Att. ibid. Phil. 1. 4, 5. Ep. fam. 12.

2.

Cic. 63. NELIUS DO-LABELLA.

. Urb. 709. lot, or by an extraardinary decree of the fenate. Cæfar had intended Macedonia for the one, and M. Antoni- Syria for the other; but as these were two of us. P. Cox- the most important commands of the Empire. and would throw a great power into their hands. at a time, when their enemies were taking meafures to deftroy them, fo Antony contrived to get two other Provinces decreed to them of an inferior kind, Crete to Brutus, and Cyrene to Caffius; and by a law of the people, procured Macedonia and Syria to be conferred upon himfelf, and his Collegue Dolabella; in confequence of which, he fent his Brother Caius in all hast to possess himself of the first, and Dolabella to fecure the fecond, before their rivals could be in condition to feize them by force, of which they were much afraid; taking it for granted, that this was the project, which Brutus and Cassius were now meditating. Cassius had acquired a great reputation in the East, by his conduct in the Parthian war, and Brutus was highly honored in Greece, for his eminent virtue and love of Philosophy: they resolved therefore to slight the petty Provinces, which were granted to them, and to try their fortunes in the more powerfull ones, that Cæfar had promifed them; and with that view had provided the fleets above mentioned, to transport themselves to those countries, which they had destined for the scene of action; Brutus, to Macedonia, Cassius, to Syria; where we shall soon have occasion to give a farther account of their fuccess [b].

CICERO in the mean while pursued his journey towards Rome, where he arrived on the last of the month: on his approach to the

City,

[6] Plutar. in Brut. App. 527, 533. Phil. 2. 13, 38.

City, such multitudes flocked out to meet him. A. Uzb. 709. that the whole day was fpent in receiving the compliments and congratulations of his friends, as M. Antonihe paffed along to his House [e]. The Senate ws. P. Conmet the next morning, to which he was parti- NELIUS Decularly fummoned by Antony, but excused himfelf by a civil message, as being too much indispofed by the fatigue of his journey. Antony took this as an affront, and in great rage threatened openly in the Senate, to order bis bouse to be pulled down, if be did not come immediately; till by the interposition of the assembly be was dissuaded from using any violence [d].

THE business of the day was, to decree forme new and extraordinary honors to the memory of Cæsar, with a religious supplication to him, as to a Divinity: Cicero was determined not to concur in it, yet knew that an opposition would not onely be fruitless, but dangerous; and for that reason staid away. Antony, on the other hand was defirous to have him there, fancying, that he would either be frightened into a compliance, which would lessen him with his own party, or by opposing what was intended, make himself odious to the soldiery; but as he was ablent, the decree passed without any contradiction.

THE Senate met again the next day, when Antony thought fit to absent himself, and leave the stage clear to Cicero [e]; who accordingly appeared, and delivered the first of those speeches, which, in imitation of Demosthenes, were cal-You. III. led

[c] Plutar. in Cicer. guerem, milique displici- dixit, &c. Phil. 1.5. rem, mili pro amicitia qui [s] Veni postridie, ipse hoc ei diceret, at ille, vobis non venit. Phil. g. 7.

audientibus, cum fabiis fe [d] Cumque de via latt- domum meam venturum effe

Cic. 63. Coff. LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709. led afterwards bis Philippics—he opens it with a particular account of the motives of his late M. ANTONI- voyage, and fudden return; of his interview -us. P. Con- with Brutus, and his regret at leaving him: NELIUS Do- " At Velia, fays he, I faw Brutus: with what " grief I saw him I need not tell you: I could of not but think it scandalous for me, to return " to a City from which he was forced to retire, and to find myself safe in any place, where he " could not be so: yet Brutus was not half so " much moved with it, as I, but supported by " the consciousness of his noble act, shewed not the least concern for his own case, while he " expressed the greatest for yours."-He then declares, " that he came to second Piso; and " in case of any accidents, of which many " feemed to furround him, to leave that day's " speech as a monument of his perpetual fide-" lity to his country [f]. Before he enters " upon the state of the Republic, he takes oc-" casion to complain of the unprecedented vio-" lence of Antony's treatment of him the day " before, who would not have been better of pleased with him, had he been present, for " he should never have consented to pollute the "Republic with fo detestable a religion, and " blend the honors of the Gods with those " of a dead man: he prays the Gods to forgive " both the Senate and the People for their for-" ced confent to it—that he would never have " decreed it, though it had been to old Brutus " himself, who first delivered Rome from Re-" gal Tyranny, and, at the distance of five cen-" turies, had propagated a race from the fame " flock, to do their country the fame fervice [g]. He returns thanks to Piso, for A. Urb. 709. what he had faid in that place the month before; wishes, that he had been present to se- M. ANTONIcond him; and reproves the other Confulars, us. P. Confor betraying their Dignity by deferting him, NELIUS Do--As to the publick affairs, he dwells chief- LABBLLA. " ly on Antony's abuse of their decree, to con-" firm Cæfar's acts; declares himself still for the confirmation of them, not that he liked them, but for the fake of peace; yet of the ec genuin acts onely, such as Cæsar himself had compleated; not the imperfect notes and memorandums of his pocket books; not every " fcrap of his writing; or what he had not e-" ven written, but spoken onely, and that, without a voucher—he charges Antony with a strange inconsistency, in pretending such a zeal for Cæsar's acts, yet violating the most folemn and authentic of them, bis laws; of which he gives feveral examples: thinks it intolerable, to oblige them to the performance of all Cæsar's promises, yet annull so freely what ought to be held the most facred and inviolable of any thing that he had "done:" he addresses himself pathetically to both the Confuls, though Dolabella onely was present; tells them, "that they had no rea-" fon to refent his speaking forfreely on the be-" half of the Republic: that he made no perfonal reflections; had not touched their characters, their lives, and manners: that if he " offended in that way, he defired no quar-" ter [b]: but if, according to his custom, he " delivered himself with all freedom on public " affairs, he begged in the first place, that they " would not be angry; in the next, that if G 2 [e] Ibid. 5, 6. [6] fbid. 7, 11.

Cic. 63.

Cic. 63. M. ANTONIes P. Cor-NELIUS DO-LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709. " they were, they would express their anger, " as became Citizens, by civil, not military " methods: that he had been admonished in-" deed, not to expect, that the same liberty " would be allowed to him, the enemy of Cæ-" far, which had been indulged to Pifo, his " Father in law; that Antony would refent " whatever was faid against his will, though " free from personal injury: if so, he must " bear it, as well as he could - then after " touching on their plundering the Temple of " Opis, of those summs, which might have " been of great fervice to the state, he observes, " that whatever the vulgar might think, mo-" ney was not the thing, which they aimed at; that their fouls were too noble for that, and " had greater designs in view [i]: but they of quite mistook the road to glory, if they " thought it to confift in a fingle man's having " more power, than a whole people—that to be dear to our Citizens, to deserve well of " our Country, to be praifed, respected, be-" loved, was truly glorious; to be feared and " hated, always invidious, deteftable, weak and tottering-that Cæfar's fate was a warning to them, how much better it was to be " loved, than to be feared: that no man could " live happy, who held life on fuch terms, " that it might be taken from him, not onely with impunity, but with praise [k]. He puts them in mind, of the many public demon-" ftrations of the people's difaffection to them, " and their conftant applauses and acclamations to those, who opposed them, to which he begs them to attend with more care, in order to learn the way how to be truly great and A. Urb. 709. "glorious.—He concludes, by declaring, that

" he had now reaped the full fruit of his return, M. ANTONIby giving this public testimony of his constant us. P. Con-

adherence to the interests of his country: that NELIUS Do-"he would use the same liberty oftener, if he LABELLA.

" found that he could do it with fafety; if not,

" would referve himfelf, as well as he could, to

" better times, not so much out of regard to

" himself, as to the Republic." In speaking afterwards of this day's debate. he fays, "that whilft the rest of the Senate " behaved like flaves, he alone shewed him-" felf to be free; and though he spoke indeed " with less freedom, than it had been his " custom to do, yet it was with more, than " the dangers, with which he was threatned, " feemed to allow [1]." Antony was greatly enraged at his speech, and summoned another meeting of the Senate for the nineteenth, where he again required Cicero's attendance, being refolved to answer him in person, and justity his own Conduct: for which end he employed himfelf during the interval in preparing the materials of a speech, and declaiming against Cicero in his Villa near Tibur. The Senate met on the appointed day, in the Temple of Concord, whither Antony came with a strong guard, and in great expectation of meeting Cicero, whom he had endeavoured by artifice to draw thicher: but though Cicero himself was ready and desirous to go, yet his friends over-ruled and kept him

[/] Locutus sum de Repub. minus equidem libere, quam mea consuetudo, libe- vitute liber unus sui. Ep. vius tamen quam periculi mi- fam. 12. 25.

næ postulabant. Philip. 5. 7. In summa reliquorum ser-

A. Urb. 709. at home, being apprehensive of some design intend-Cic. 63. ed against his life [m].

Coff. Antony's speech confirmed their apprehensi-M. ANTONIus. P. Cor. ons, in which he poured out the overflowings. NELIUS Do of his spleen with such sury against him, that LABELLA. Cicero, alluding to what he had done a little before in public, fays, that he seemed once more rather to spew, than to speak [n]. He produced Cicero's Letter to bim, about the restoration of S. Clodius, in which Cicero acknowledged him, not onely for his friend, but a good Citizen; as if the Letter was a confutation of his speech, and Cicero had other reasons for quarrelling with him now, than the pretended fervice of the public [o]. But the chief thing, with which he urged him, was, his being not onely privy to the murther of Cæsar, but the Contriver of it, as well as the author of every step, which the conspirators bad fince taken: by this he hoped to inflame the foldiers to some violence, whom he had planted for that purpose about the avenues of the Temple, and within hearing even of their debates. Cicero in his account of it to Cassius, says, that be

bave left the work half finished [p.]

HE

[m] Quo die, si per amicos mihi cupienti, in senatum venire licuisset, cædis initium secisset a me. Phil.

Meque cum elicere vellet in cædis causam, tum tentaret insidiis. Ep. sam. 12. 25.

[11] Itaque omnibus est vifus, ut ad te antea scripsi, vomere suo more, non dicere. Ib. 2.

[0] Atque etiam litteras, quas me fibi missse diceret, recitavit, &c. Phil. 2. 4.

[p] Nullam aliam ob cauffam me auctorem fuisse Cæfaris interficiendi criminatur, nisi ut in me veterani incitentur. Ep. fam. 12. 2. vid.

should not scruple to own a share in the act, if he could have a share in the glory: but that, if he had really been concerned in it, they should never

Cic. 63.

HE had refided all this while in Rome, or A. Urb. 709. the neighbourhood; but as a breach with Antony was now inevitable, he thought it necessa- M. Antoniry for his fecurity, to remove to a greater di- us. P. Constance; to some of his Villas near Naples. Here NELIUS Dohe composed bis second Philippic, by way of re- LABELLA. ply to Antony; not delivered in the Senate, as the tenor of it feems to imply, but finished in the country, nor intended to be published till things were actually come to extremity, and the occasions of the Republic made it necessary to render Antony's character and defigns as odious as possible to the people. The oration is a most bitter invoctive on his whole life, describing it as a perpetual scene of lewdness, faction, violence, rapine, heightened with all the colors of wit and eloquence—it was greatly admired by the ancients, and shews, that in the decline of life. Cicero had loft no share of that fire and fpirit, with which his earlier productions are animated: but he never had a cause more interesting, or where he had greater reason to exert himself: he knew, that in case of a rupture, for which alone the piece was calculated, either Antony or the Republic must perish; and he was determined to risk his own life upon the quarrel, nor bear the indignity of out-living a fecond time the liberty of his country.

HE fent a copy of this speech to Brutus and Cassius, who were infinitely pleased with it: they now at last clearly faw, that Antony meditated nothing but war, and that their affairs were growing daily more and more desperate; and being resolved therefore to leave Italy, they took occasion, a little before their departure, to write the following Letter in common to Antony.

G 4

BRUTUS

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coff. M. Antoni-US. P. COR-

LABELLA

BRUTUS and Cassius Prætors to Antony Conful.

" IF you are in good health, it is a pleasure NELIUS Do- " to us. We have read your Letter, exactly of a piece with your Edict, abusive, threat-" ening, wholly unworthy to be fent from you " to us. For our part, Antony, we have newer done you any injury; nor imagined, that " you would think it strange, that Prætors and " men of our rank should require any thing by " Edict of a Conful: but if you are angry, " that we have prefumed to do it, give us " leave to be concerned, that you would not " indulge that privilege at least to Brutus and " Cassius: for as to our raising troops, exact-" ing contributions, folliciting armies, fending " expresses beyond sea; since you deny, that vou ever complained of it, we believe you; " and take it as a proof of your good inten-"tion: we do not indeed own any fuch pra-" ctices; yet think it strange, when you ob-" jected nothing of that kind, that you could " not contain yourfelf, from reproaching us " with the death of Cæsar. Consider with " yourself, whether it is to be endured, that " for the fake of the public quiet and liberty, " Prætors cannot depart from their rights by " Edict, but the Conful must presently threat-" en them with arms. Do not think to frighten " us with fuch threats: it is not agreeable to " our character to be moved by any danger: " nor must Antony pretend to command those, " by whose means he now lives free. If there " were other reasons to dispose us to raise a ci-" vil war, your Letter would have no effect to " hinder it: for threats can have no influence on those, who are free. But you know very A. Urb. 709.
well, that it is not possible for us, to be driwen to any thing against our will; and for M. Antonithat reason perhaps you threaten, that what- us. P. Corever we do, it may seem to be the effect of NELIUS DoLABELLA.

fear. These then are our sentiments: we wish to see you live with honour and splendor in a free Republic; have no desire to quarrel with you; yet value our liberty, more than your friendship. It is your business to consider again and again, what you attempt, and what you can maintain; and to resect, not how long Cæsar lived, but how short a time he reigned: we pray the Gods, that your councils may be salutary, both to the

"Republic and to yourfelf; if not, wish at least, that they may hurt you as little, as

" may consist with the safety and dignity of the

" Republic [q]."

OCTAVIUS perceived by this time, that there was nothing to be done for him in the City against a Conful, armed with supreme power both civil and military; and was fo far provoked by the ill usage, which he had received, that, in order to obtain by stratagem what he could not gain by force, he formed a design against Antony's life, and actually provided certain flaves to affaffinate bim, who were difcovered and seized with their poignards in Antony's bouse, as they were watching an opportunity to execute their plot. The story was supposed by many to be forged by Antony to justify his treatment of Octavius, and his depriving him of the estate of his uncle: but all men of sense, as Cicero fays, both believed and applauded it; and the greatest

A. Urb. 709. greatest part of the old writers treat it as an un-Cic. 63. doubted fact [r].

Coff. M. ANTONI-NELIUS Do-LABELLA.

THEY were both of them equally suspected us. P. Cor- by the Senate; but Antony more immediately dreaded on the account of his superior power, and supposed credit with the soldiers, whom he had ferved with through all the late wars, and on feveral occasions commanded. chief strength lay; and to ingratiate himself the more with them, he began to declare himself more and more openly every day against the Conspirators; threatening them in bis Edicts, and discovering a resolution to revenge the death of Cæsar; to whom he erected a statue in the Rostra, and inscribed it, to the most worthy parent of bis Country. Cicero speaking of this in a Letter to Cassius, says, "Your friend Anto-" ny grows every day more furious, as you fee " from the inscription of his statue; by which "he makes you, not onely murtherers, but " Parricides. But why do I fay you, and not " rather us? for the madman affirms me to be " the author of your noble act. I wish that I " had been, for if I had, he would not have " been fo troublesome to us at this time [s]."

> [r] De quo multitudini fictum ab Antonio crimen videtur, ut in pecuniam adolescentis impetum faceret. Prudentes autem & boni viri & credunt factum & probant. [Ep. fam. 12. 23.] Infidiis M. Antonii Confulis latus petierat. [Sen. de Clem. l. 1.9.]

> Hortantibus itaque nonnullis percuffores ei fubornavit. Hac fraude deprehensa, &c. Sueton. August. x. Plutar.

in Anton.

[1] Auget tuus amicus furorem indies, primum in Statua, quam posuit in Rostris, inscripsit, Parenti optime merito. Ut non modo sicarii, sed jam etiam Parricidæ judicemini. Quid dico judicemini? judicemur potius. Vestri enim pulcherrimi facti ille furiosus me principem dicit fuisse. Utinam quidem fuissem, molestus non esset. Ep. fam. 12. 3.

Cic. 63.

OCTAVIUS was not less active in foliciting A. Urb. 709. his Uncle's foldiers, sparing neither pains nor money that could tempt them to his fervice; M. ANTONIand by outbidding Antony in all his offers and vs. P. Copbribes to them, met with greater success than NELIUS Dowas expected, fo as to draw together in a short LABELLA. time, a firm and regular army of Veterans, compleatly furnished with all necessaries for prefent service. But as he had no public character to justify this conduct, which in regular times would have been deemed treasonable, so he paid the greater court to the Republican Chiefs, in hopes to get his procedings authorized by the Senate; and by the influence of his troops, procure the command of the war to himself: he now therefore was continually pressing Cicero by Letters and friends to come to Rome, and fupport him with his authority against their common enemy, Antony; promising to govern bimfelf in every step by bis advice.

But Cicero could not yet be persuaded to enter into his affairs: he suspected his youth and want of experience, and that he had not strength enough to deal with Antony; and above all, that he had no good disposition towards the Conspirators: he thought it impossible that he should ever be a friend to them. and was perfuaded rather that if ever he got the upper hand, bis Uncle's alts would be more violently enforced, and bis death more cruelly revenged, than by Antony bimself [t]. These con**fiderations**

comprobatum iri, quam in Att. 16. 14. Telluris, atque id contra

[1] Valde tibi affentior, fi Brutum fore-fed in isto Jumultum possit Octavianus, vene quanquam animi satis, multo firmius acta Tyranni auctoritatis parum est. Ad

Cic. 63. Coff. LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709. fiderations withheld him from an union with him, till the exigencies of the Republic made it M. Antoni- absolutely necessary; nor did he consent at last, us. P. Con- without making it an express condition, that NELIUS Do- Octavius should employ all his forces in defence of the common liberty, and particularly of Brutus and bis accomplices: where his chief care and caution still was, to arm him onely with a power fufficient to oppress Antony, yet so checked and limited, that he should not be able to oppress the Republic.

This is evident from many of his Epiftles to Atticus; "I had a Letter, fays he, from " Octavianus on the first of November: his de-" figns are great: he has drawn over all the " Veterans of Cafilinum and Calatia: and no " wonder, he gives fixteen pounds a man. He " proposes to make the tour of the other colo-" nies: his view plainly is, to have the com-" mand of the war against Antony; so that " we shall be in arms in a few days. But which of them shall we follow? --- Consider his " name, his age: he begs to have a private " conference with me at Capua, or near it: 'tis " childish to imagine that it could be private: "I gave him to understand, that it was neither " necessary nor practicable. He sent to me one " Cæcina of Volaterræ, who brought word, that " Antony was coming towards the City with " the Legion of the Alauda [u]: that he rai-" fed

[u] This Legion of the Alauda was first raised by J. Cælar, and composed of the Natives of Gaul, armed and disciplined after the Reman manner, to which he

gave the freedom of Rome. He called it by a Gallie name, Alauda; which fig-nified a kind of Lark, or lit; tle bird with a tuft or creft rifing upon it's head; in imitation - fed contributions from all the great Towns, A. Urb. 709.
and marched with colors displayed: he asked Cic. 63.
my advice, whether he should advance before M. Antonshim to Rome, with three thousand Veterans, us. P. Coaor keep the post of Capua, and oppose his nelius Doprogress there, or go to the three Macedonian LABELLA.
Legions, who were marching along the upper coast, and are, as he hopes, in his inte-

"rest—they would not take Antony's mo"ney, as this Czecina says, but even affronted
"and left him while he was speaking to them.
"In short, he offers himself for our Leader,
"and thinks that we ought to support him. I
divide him to march to Rome: for he seems
likely to have the meaner people on his side;
and if he makes good what he promises, the
better fort too. O Brutus, where are thou?

"What an opportunity dost thou lose? I did

not indeed foresee this: yet thought that

fomething like it would happen. Give me

your advice: shall I come away to Rome;

" ftay where I am; or retire to Arpinum?
" where I shall be the safest. I had rather be at

"Rome, left if any thing should be done, I hould be wanted: refolve therefore for me:

"I never was in greater perplexity [x]."
AGAIN; "I had two Letters the fame day

"from Octavius: he prefies me to come im-"mediately

imitation of which, this Legion wore a creft of feathers on the helmet; from which origin the word was adopted into the Latin tongue. Antony, out of compliment to these troops, and to affure himself of their fidelity, had lately made a judiciary law, by which he errected a third

Class of Judges, to be drawn from the Officers of this Legion, and added to the other two of the Senators and Knights: for which Cicero often reproaches him as a most infamous prostitution of the dignity of the Republic—Phil. 1. 8.

[x] Ad Att. 16. 8.

Cic. 63. M. ANTONI-LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709. " mediately to Rome; is refolved, he says, to " do nothing without the Senate-I tell him, " that there can be no Senate till the first of Javs. P. Con- " muary, which I take to be true: he adds al-NELIUS Do- " fo, nor without my advice. In a word, he " urges; I hang back: I cannot trust his age; " do not know his real intentions; will do no-" thing without Pansa; am afraid that Anto-" ny may prove too ftrong for him; and un-" willing to ftir from the fea; yet would not " have any thing vigorous done without me. " Varro does not like the conduct of the boy; " but I do. He has firm troops, and may join with D. Brutus: what he does, he does openy; musters his foldiers at Capua; pays

them, we shall have a war I see instant-" ly -- [y]." Again; "I have Letters every day from

" Octavianus; to undertake his affairs; to come " to him at Capua; to fave the state a second " time: he resolves to come directly to Rome.

" Urg'd to the fight, 'tis shameful to refuse, "Whilft fear yet prompts the fafer part to Hom. Il. w. chuse.

"He has hitherto acted, and acts still with " vigor; and will come to Rome with a great " force. Yet he is but a boy: he thinks the "Senate may be called immediately: but who " will come? or, if they do, who, in this un-" certainty of affairs, will declare against An-" tony? he will be a good guard to us on the " first of January: or it may come perhaps to 66 blows before. The great Towns favour the boy strangely. — They flock to him from A. Urb. 709.

if all parts, and exhort him to proceed: could Cost.

Cost.

"you ever have thought it [z]?" There are M. ANTONImany other passages of the same kind, expressus. P. Consing a diffidence of Octavius, and inclination to NELIUS Desit still, and let them sight it out between themselves: till the exigency of affairs made their
union at last mutually necessary to each other.

In the hurry of all these politics, he was prosecuting his studies still with his usual application; and besides the second Philippic, already mentioned, now finished bis book of Offices, or the duties of man, for the use of his son [a]. A work admired by all succeeding ages, as the most perfect system of Heathen morality, and the noblest effort and specimen, of what mere reason could do towards guiding man thro' life with innocence and happiness. He now also drew up, as it is thought, bis Stoical Paradoxes, or an illustration of the peculiar doctrines of that sect, from the Examples and Characters of their own Countrymen, which he addressed to Brutus.

ANTONY left Rome about the end of September, in order to meet and engage to his fervice four Legions from Macedonia, which had been fent thither by Cæsar, on their way towards Parthia, and were now by his orders returning to Italy. He thought himself sure of them, and by their help to be master of the City; but on his arrival at Brundssum on the eighth of October, three of the Legions, to his great surprize, rejected all his offers, and refused to follow him. This affront so enraged him, that calling together all the Centurions, whom he suspected

of

Cic. 63. Coff. LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709. of being the authors of their disaffection, he ordered them to be massacred in his own lodgings, M. Antons to the number of three bundred, while he and his us. P. Coa-wife Fulvia stood calmly looking on, to fatiate their wellus Do- cruel revenge by the blood of these brave men: after which he marched back towards Rome, by the Appian road, at the head of the fingle legion, which submitted to him; whilst the other three took their rout along the Adriatic coast, with-

out declaring yet for any fide [b].

HE returned full of rage both against Octavius and the Republicans, and determined to make what use he could of the remainder of his Confulship, in wresting the Provinces and military commands out of the hands of his enemies, and distributing them to his friends. He published at the same time several sierce and threatening edicts, in which "he gave Octavius the " name of Spartacus, reproached him with the " ignobleness of his birth; charged Cicero with " being the author of all his councils; abused " young Quintus as a perfictious wretch, who " had offered to kill both his Father and Un-" cle; forbad three of the Tribuns, on pain of " death, to appear in the Senate, Q. Caffius, " the brother of the Conspirator, Carfulenus " and

[6] Ad. d. v11 Id. Octob. Brundisium erat profestus, Antonius, obviam legionibus Macedonicis 1111 quas fibi conciliare pecunia cogitalist, easque ad Urbem adducere. Ep. fam. 12. 23.

Quippe qui in hospitis te-Cis Brundifii fortifiimos visos, cives optimos, jugulari jusserit: quorum anse pedes ejus morientium fanguine os proris respectium elle confiebat. Phil. s. e.

Cum ejus promifis legi-ones fortifima reclamatient, domum ad de venire julit Centuciones, quos hene de Repub. sentire cognonerat, eofque ante pedes fuos, uxorique luse, quam fecum gravis Imperator ad exercitum duxerat, insularisongit. Phil. 5. 8.

and Canutius [c]." In this humor he fum. A. Urb. 709. mon'd the Senate on the twenty fourth of October, with fevere threats to those who should absent M. Antontthemselves; yet he himself neglected to come, us. P. Conand adjourned it by edict to the twenty-eighth: but while all people were in expectation of some extraordinary decrees from him, and of one particularly, which he had prepared, to declare young Cæsar a public enemy [d]; he happened to receive the news, that two of the Legions from Brundisium, the fourth, and that which was called the Martial, bad astually declared for Octavius, and posted themselves at Alba, in the neighbourbood of Rome [e]. This shocked him fo much, that instead of prosecuting what he had projected, he onely huddled over what no body opposed, the decree of a supplication to Lepidus; and the same evening, after he had distributed to his friends, by a pretended allotment, the feveral provinces of the Empire, which few or none of them durst accept from so precarious a title, he changed the habit of the Conful for that of the General, and left the City with pre-Vol. III. cipitation.

Cic. 63. Coff. NELIUS DO-LABELLA.

[c] Primum in Cæfarem ut maledicta congessit_igno- ib. 9. bilitatem objicit C. Cafaris filio-[Phil. 3. 6.] quem in Edictis Spartacum appellat. [ib. 8.] Q. Ciceronem, fratris mei filium compellat edicto-aufus est scribere, hunc de Patris & Patrui parricidio cogitasse. [ib. 7.] quid autem attinuerit, Q. Caffio-mortem denuneiare fi in Senatum veniffet. D. Carfulenum-e Senatu vi & mortis minis expellere : Tib. Canutium-non templo folum, fed

aditu prohibere Capitolii-

[d] Cum Senatum vocafe fet, adhibuissetque Consularem, qui sua sententia C. Cæfarem hoftem judicaret -Phil. 5. 9. App. 556.

[e] Postea vero quam Legio Martia ducem præstantisfimum vidit, nihil egit aliud, nili ut aliquando liberi effemus: quam est imitata quarta Legio. Phil. 5.8.

Atque ea Legio confedit Alba, &c. Phil. 3.3.

Cic. 63. NELIUS Do-LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709. cipitation, to put himself at the head of his army, and possess himself by force of Cisalpine M. ANTONI- Gaul, affigned to him by a pretended law of the

Us. P. Cor- people against the will of the Senate [f].

On the news of his retreat, Cicero presently. quitted his books and the Country, and fet out towards Rome: he seemed to be called by the voice of the Republic to take the reins once more into his hands. The field was now open to him; there was not a Conful, and scarce a single Prætor in the City, nor any troops, from which he could apprehend danger. He arrived on the ninth of December, and immediately conferred with Pansa, for Hirtius lay very ill, about the measures proper to be taken on their approaching entrance into the Confulship.

BEFORE his leaving the Country, Oppius had been with him, to press him again to undertake the affairs of Octavius, and the protection of his troops: but his answer was, "that he " could not confent to it, unless he were first " affured, that Octavius would not onely be no " enemy, but even a friend to Brutus: that he " could be of no fervice to Octavius till the first of January, and there would be an opportu-" nity before that time of trying Octavius's dif-" position in the case of Casca, who had been " named by Cæsar to the Tribunate, and was " to enter upon it on the tenth of December: " for if Octavius did not oppose or disturb his

" admission, that would be a proof of his good

" intentions

dimed non--miles

[] Fugere festinans S. C. de Supplicatione per disceffionem fecit-præclara tamen S. Cta. eo ipío die vespertina, provinciarum religiosa sortitio-L. Lentulus & P. Naso -nullam se habere provinciam, nullam Antonii fortitionem fuille judicarunt. Phil. 3. 9, X.

Cic. 63,

Coff.

NELIUS Do-

intentions [g]." Oppius undertook for all A. Urb. 709. this on the part of Octavius, and Octavius himfelf confirmed it, and fuffered Casca who gave M. ANTONIthe first blow to Cæsar, to enter quietly into his us. P. Conoffice.

LABELLA. THE new Tribuns in the mean time, in the absence of the superior Magistrates, called a meeting of the Senate on the nineteenth: Cicero had resolved not to appear there any more, till he should be supported by the new Confuls; but happening to receive the day before, the Edist of D. Brutus, by which be probibited Antony the entrance of his Province, and declared, that be would defend it against him by force, and preserve it in its duty to the Senate, he thought it necessary for the public service, and the present encouragement of Brutus, to procure, as foon as possible, some public declaration in his favor: he went therefore to the Senate very early, which being observed by the other Senators, presently drew together a full House, in expectation of hearing his fentiments in fo nice and critical a fituation of the public affairs [b].

H 2

Ig | Sed ut scribis, certissimum esse video discrimen Cascæ nostri Tribunatum: de quo quidem ipso dixi Oppio, cum me hortaretur, ut adolescentemque totamque causam, manumque veteranorum complecterer, me nullo modo facere posse, ni mihi exploratum effet, eum non modo non inimicum tyrannoctonis, verum etiam amicum fore; cum ille diceret, ita futurum. Quid igitur festinamus? inquam. Illi enim mea opera ante Kal. Jan. nihil opus est,

Nos autem ante Id. Decemb. ejus voluntatem perspiciemus in Casca. Mihi valde affenfus eft-Ad Att. 16.19.

[b] Cum Tribuni pleb. edixissent, Senatus adellet a d. 13 Kal. Jan. haberentque in animo de præfidio Confulum defignatorum referre, quanquam statueram in Senatum ante Kal. Jan. non venire: tamen cum eo ipío die edi-Etum tuum propositum effet, nefas esse duxi, aut ita haberi Senatum, ut de tuis divînis in Remp. meritis filere-

Cic. 63. Coff. LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709. H & faw the war actually commenced in the very bowels of Italy, on the fuccess of which de-M. Antoni- pended the fate of Rome: that Gaul would cerus. P. Con- tainly be loft, and with it probably the Repub-NELTUS Dot lic, if Brutus was not supported against the superior force of Antony: that there was no way of doing it fo ready and effectual, as by employing Octavius and his troops: and tho' the entrusting him with that commission would throw a dangerous power into his hands, yet it would be controuled by the equal power, and superior authority of the Two Confuls, who were to be joined with him in the same command.

THE Senare being affembled, the Tribuns acquainted them, that the buliness of that meeting, was to provide a guard for the fecurity of the new Confuls, and the protection of the Senate, in the freedom of their debates; but that they gave a liberty withal of taking the whole state of the Republic into consideration. Upon this Cicero opened the debate, " and represent-" ed to them the danger of their present condi-"tion, and the necessity of speedy and resolute " councils against an enemy, who lost no time " in attempting their ruin. That they had been ruined indeed before, had it not been for the courage and virtue of young Cælar, who conet trary to all expectation, and without being even defired to do, what no man thought pof-

" fible for him to do, had, by his private au-" thority and expence, raifed a ftrong army of " Veterans, and baffled the defigns of Antony;

tur, quod factum effet, nifi ego vehillem, aut etiam fi quid de te non honorifice di- fum, frequentiffimi Senatores geretur, me non adelle. Ita- convenerunt. Ep. fam. xi. 6.

que in Senatum veni mane. Quod cum effet animadver-

Cic. 63.

that if Antony had fucceded at Brundissum, A. Urb. 709. and prevailed with the legions to follow him, " he would have filled the City at his return M. ANTONI-" with blood and flaughter: that it was their us. P. Conof part to authorize and confirm what Cæfar NELIUS Do-" had done; and to empower him to do more, " by employing his troops in the farther fervice " of the state; and to make a special provision " also for the two Legions which had declared for him against Antony [i]. As to D. Bru-"tus, who had promifed by Edict to preferve "Gaul in the obedience of the Senate, that he 55 was a Citizen, born for the good of the Re-" public; the imitator of his ancestors; nay, " had even exceded their merit; for the first 66 Brutus expelled a proud King; he a fellow " fubject far more proud and profigate: that "Tarquin, at the fame time of his expulsion, was " actually making war for the people of Rome; 66 but Antony, on the contrary, had actually 66 begun a war against them. That it was ne-" cellary therefore to confirm by public authority, what Brutus had done by private, in " preferving the Province of Gaul, the flower of Italy, and the bulwark of the Empire-[k]. "Then after largely inveighing against Anto-" ny's character, and enumerating particularly " all his cruelties and violences, he exhorts 5' them in a pathetic manner, to act with cou-'s rage in defence of the Republic, or die brave-" ly in the attempt: that now was the time ei-"ther to recover their liberty, or to live for ever flaves that if the fatal day was come, " and Rame was deftined to perish, it would be " a shame for them, the Governors of the world, " not

102 A. Urb. 769. " not to fall with as much courage as Gladiators " were used to do, and die with dignity, rather Cic. 63. Coff. M. ANTONI." than live with difgrace. He puts them in us. P. Cox-" mind of the many advantages, which they NELIUS Do. " had towards encouraging their hopes and re-LABELLA. " folution; the body of the people alert and " eager in the cause; young Cæsar in the guard of the City; Brutus of Gaul; two Confuls of sthe greatest prudence, virtue, concord between 44 themselves; who had been meditating no-" thing else for many months past, but the public tranquillity: to all which he promifes his " own attention and vigilance both day and " night for their fafety [1]. On the whole therefore, he gives his vote and opinion, that " the new Confuls, C. Pansa and A. Hirtius, " should take care that the Senate may meet with fecurity on the first of January: that

> merited greatly of the Republic, by defend-" ing the authority and liberty of the Senate and " people of Rome: that his army, the Towns " and Colonies of his Province, should be pub-

"D. Brutus, Emperor and Conful elect, had

" licly thanked and praised for their fidelity to " him: that it should be declared to be of the

" last consequence to the Republic, that D. Brutus and L. Plancus (who commanded the

" farther Gaul) Emperor and Conful elect, as " well as all others who had the command of

" Provinces, should keep them in their duty " to the Senate, till successors were appointed

" by the Senate: and fince by the pains, virtue " and conduct of young Cæfar, and the affift-

" ance of the veteran foldiers who followed him,

" the Republic had been delivered, and was still

defended from the greatest dangers; and since A. Urb. 709: " the martial and fourth Legions, under that " excellent Citizen and Quæstor Egnatuleius, M. ANTONI-" had voluntarily declared for the authority of us. P. Conthe Senate, and the liberty of the people, that NELIUS Do-

" the Senate should take special care that due LABELLA. " honors and thanks be paid to them for their

" eminent fervices: and that the new Confuls, " on their entrance into office, should make it

" their first business to see all this executed in

" proper form: to all which the House unani-" moully agreed, and ordered a decree to be

"drawn conformably to his opinion."

FROM the Senate he passed directly to the Forum, and in a speech to the people, gave an account of what had passed: he begins, "by " fignifying his joy to fee fo great a concourse " about him, greater than he had ever remem-" bered, a fure omen of their good inclinations, " and an encouragement both to his endeavours " and his hopes of recovering the Republic. "Then he repeats with fome variation what 46 he had delivered in the Senate, of the praifes " of Cæsar and Brutus, and the wicked designs " of Antony: that the race of the Brutus's was " given to them by the special providence of " the Gods, for the perpetual defenders and de-" liverers of the Republic [m]: that by what " the Senate had decreed, they had in fact, tho' " not in express words, declared Antony a " public enemy; that they must consider him "therefore as fuch, and no longer as Conful: " that they had to deal with an enemy, with "whom no terms of peace could be made: 44 who thirsted not so much after their liberty, 25 11 alle dies vitre in ein Ham elle K

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coff. M. Antonius. P. Con-LABELLA.

" as their blood: to whom no sport was fo " agreeable, as to see Citizens butchered before " his eyes - That the Gods however by

or portents and prodigies feemed to foretel his NELIUS De- " speedy downfall, fince such a consent and " union of all ranks against him could never

" have been effected, but by a divine influence.

" Go [n]." sels and bas

THESE speeches, which stand the third and fourth in the order of bis Philippics, were extremely well received both by the Senate and People: speaking afterwards of the latter of them to the same people, he says, if that day had put an end to my life, I had reaped sufficient fruit from it, when you all with one mind and voice eried out, that I had twice faved the Republic [o]. As he had now broken all measures with Antony, beyond the possibility of a reconciliation, to he published probably about this time his second Philippie, which had hitherto been communicated onely to a few friends, whole approbation it had received.

THE short remainder of this turbulent year was spent in preparing arms and troops for the guard of the new Confuls, and the defence of the state: and the new levies were carried on with the greater diligence, for the certain news that was brought to Rome, that Antony was affually befreging Modena, into which Brutus, unable to oppose him in the field, had thrown himself with all his forces, as the strongest Town of his soniver as luch, and no longer as Conful :

and to deal with an one

[4] Quo quidem tempore, voce iterum a me conserva-etiam si ille dies vitæ sinem tam esse Remp. conclamastis. mihi allaturus esset, satis magnum ceperam fruetum, cum

[s] Ibid. 4. &c. o song vos universi una mente ac

Province, and the best provided to sustain a A. Urb. 709. fiege. Young Cæsar in the mean while, without expecting the orders of the senate, but with M. ANTONIthe advice of Cicero, by which he now governed us. P. Conhimself in every step, marched out of Rome at NELIUS Dothe head of his troops, and followed Antony into the Province; in order to observe his motions, and take all occasions of distressing him; as well as to encourage Brutus to defend himfelf with vigor, till the Confuls could bring up the grand army, which they were preparing for his relief.

of America. But their meas olding clots to Cic-

to which they owed all their he most had her tome foreples in them, which got a a chieft to

their real, as a dipoli. I have a devise more moderance a while old liter a distinguis consis-

tion of times would allow a mod before the caperiment of arms; to try the statiler methods of

to design the state of the stat

the Republic, in order to perfu? Take had been

clothed are to their and meetings and to con-

public manquility: They with troke with great

ders, in a Certing the liberty of their country,

thus Calenda, to deliver has fendinguis the

[14] Ut out a Confident conferender veryen clam - Carrier of the Contract of t expected in mode faluties the Link 5.4.

Cic. 63.

od experience the affectably to wiring and re-C. qu' l'after y dr. anob par van asily to A. Urb. 716.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA.
A. HIRTIUS.

SECT. X.

N the opening of the year, the City was in great expectation, to fee what meafures their new Confuls would purfue: they had been at school, as it were, all the summer to Cicero, forming the plan of their administration, and taking their lesions of governing from him, and feem to have been brought intirely into his general view, of establishing the peace and liberty of the Republic on the foundation of an Amnesty. But their great obligations to Cæfar, and long engagements with that party, to which they owed all their fortunes, had left fome scruples in them, which gave a check to their zeal, and disposed them to act with more moderation against old friends, than the condition of times would allow; and before the experiment of arms; to try the gentler methods of a treaty. With these sentiments, as soon as they were inaugurated, they entered into a deliberation with the Senate, on the present state of the Republic, in order to perfect what had been resolved upon at their last meeting, and to contrive some farther means for the fecurity of the public tranquillity. They both fpoke with great spirit and firmness, offering themselves as Leaders, in afferting the liberty of their country, and exhorting the affembly to courage and refolution in the defence of fo good a cause [p]: and when they had done, they called up Q. Fusius Calenus, to deliver his sentiments the

[p] Ut oratio Consulum conservandæ, verum etiam dignitatis pristinæ recuperanque attulit non modo salutis dæ. Phil. 5.1.

first. He had been Conful four years before by A. Urb. 710. Caefar's nomination, and was father-in-law to Panfa, which by custom was a sufficient ground C. VIBIUS for paying him that compliment: Cicero's opi- PANSA. nion was already well known; he was for the A. HIRTIUS. shortest and readiest way of coming at their end, by declaring Antony a public enemy, and without loss of time acting against him by open force: but this was not relished by the Confuls. who called therefore upon Calenus to fpeak first: that as he was a fast friend to Antony, and fure to be on the moderate fide, he might instil some fentiments of that fort into the Senate, before Cicero had made a contrary impression. Calenus's opinion therefore was, that before they proceeded to acts of bostility, they should send an embassy to Antony, to admonish bim to desist from bis attempt upon Gaul, and submit to the authority of the Senate: Pifo and several others were of the fame mind, alledging it to be unjust and cruel to condemn a man, till they had first heard what he had to fay for himself.

Bur Cicero opposed this motion with great warmth, not onely as "vain and foolish, but dangerous and pernicious: he declared it dif-"honourable to treat with any one, who was in " arms against his country, untill he laid them 66 down and fued for peace; in which case no " man would be more moderate or equitable than himself: that they had in effect proof clamed him an enemy already, and had nothing left but to confirm it by a decree, when the was belieging one of the great Towns of Italy, a Colony of Rome, and in it their Gonful elect, and General Brutus: he obser-" ved from what motives those other opinions " proceeded from particular friendships, relao bies tions.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA.

" tions, private obligations; but that a regard " to their Country was superior to them all: " that the real point before them was, whether " Antony should be suffered to oppress the A. Hirrius. " Republic; to mark out whom he pleased to " destruction; to plunder the City, and enflave " the Citizens [9]. That this was his fole 44 view, he shewed from a long detail not onely of his acts but of his express declarationsof for he had faid in the Temple of Caftor, in st the hearing of the people, that whenever it came to blows, no man fhould remain alive, who did not conquer - and in another speech; that when he was out of his Confulship, he would keep an army ftill about the City, and enter it whenever he thought fit : that in a .. Letter, which Cicero himself had feen, to " one of his friends, he bad him to mark out " for himfelf what estate he would have, and whatever it was, he should certainly have it [+]: that to talk of fending Embassadors " to fuch an one, was to betray their ignorance of the constitution of the Republic, the ma-" jesty of the Roman people, and the discipline 44 of their ancestors [s] that whatever was the w purpose of their message, it would fignify " nothing: if to beg him to be quiet, he would despile it; if to command him, would not obey it -that without any possible good, 45 it would be a certain damage; would neces-45 farily create delay, and obstruction to the operations of the war; check the zeal of the s army; damp the spirits of the people; whom they now law to brilk and eager in the cause taltem 1 eled, and General Broms: he obser-

" yed from what motives those other opinions

^{- [7]} Phil 5.12, 2, 3. 1 ing [a] ofbid. 8, 12,0019 [Bid. 9.

that the greatest revolutions of affairs were A. Urb. 716. " effected often by trifling incidents; and above all in civil wars, which were generally go- C. VIBIUS " verned by popular rumor: that how vigo- Pansa. tous foever their instructions were to the Em- A. Harrius. " baffadors, that they would be little regard-" ed: the very name of an Embassy implied a " diffidence and fear, which was fufficient to " cool the ardor of their friends [1]: they " might order him to retire from Modena; to " quit the Province of Gaul; but this was not " to be obtained by words, but extorted by " arms - that while the Emballadors were " going and coming, people would be in "doubt and fulpence about the fuecels of their " negotiation, and under the expectation of a " doubtfull war, what progress could they hope " to make in their levies? -that his opinion " therefore was, to make no farther mention " of an Embaffy; but to enter instantly into " action: that there should be a cessation of " all civil business; a public tumula procla-" med; the shops thut up; and that instead " of their usual gown, they should all put on " the Sagum, or habit of war: and that levies " of foldiers should be made in Rome, and " through Italy, without any exception of " privilege or difiniffion from fervice—that the very fame of this vigor would restrain " the madness of Antony, and let the world " fee, that the cafe was not, as he prees tended, a struggle onely of contending par-"ties, but a real war against the Common-"wealth—that the whole Republic should be " committed to the Confuls, to take care, that

Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA.

A. Urb. 710. " it received no detriment - that pardon " should be offered to those of Antony's army, " who should return to their duty before the first " of February—that if they did not come to

L. HIRTIUS. " this Resolution now, they would be forced to do it afterwards, when it would be too late

" perhaps, or less effectual [u]."

THIS was the fumm of what he advised as to their conduct towards Antony: he next proceded to the other subject of their debate; the bonors which were ordered to be decreed at their last meeting; and began with D. Brutus, as Conful elect; in favour of whom, besides many high expressions of praise, he proposed a decree to this effect - "Whereas D. Brutus, Empe-" ror, Conful elett, now holds the province of " Gaul in the power of the Senate and People " of Rome; and by the chearfull affiftance of the "Towns and Colonies of his Province, has " drawn together a great army in a short time; " that he has done all this rightly and regularly, " and for the service of the state: and that it is " the sense therefore of the Senate and People, " that the Republic has been relieved in a most " difficult conjuncture, by the pains, counfil, " virtue of D. Brutus, Emperor, Conful elect, " and by the incredible zeal and concurrence of " the Province of Gaul." He moved also for an extraordinary bonor to M. Lepidus, who had no pretention to it indeed from past services, but being now at the head of the best army in the Empire, was in condition to do the most good or ill to them of any man. This was the ground of the compliment; for his faith being suspected, and his union with Antony dreaded, Cicero hoped. hoped, by this testimony of their confidence, to A. Urb. 710. confirm him in the interests of the Senate: but he feems to be hard put to it for a pretext of C. VIBIUS merit to ground his decree upon: he takes no- PANSA. tice, "that Lepidus was always moderate in A. HIRTIUS. " power, and a friend to liberty: that he gave " a fignal proof of it, when Antony offered the "Diadem to Cæsar; for by turning away his " face, he publicly testified his aversion to sla-" very, and that his compliance with the times " was thro' necessity, not choice—that fince " Cæsar's death he had practised the same mo-"deration; and when a bloody war was revived " in Spain, chose to put an end to it by the me-"thods of prudence and humanity, rather than " by arms and the fword, and confented to the " restoration of S. Pompey [x]." For which reason he proposed the following Decree-"Whereas the Republic has often been well and " happily administred by M. Lepidus, the chief " Prieft; and the people of Rome have always " found him to be an enemy to kingly govern-" ment; and whereas by his endeavours, virtue, " wisdom, and his singular clemency and mild-" ness, a most dreadful civil war is extinguish-" ed; and S. Pompey the Great, the Son of "Cnæus, out of respect to the authority of the Senate, has quitted his arms, and is reftored " to the City; that the Senate and People, out " of regard to the many and fignal fervices of " M. Lepidus, Emperor, and chief Priest, place " great hopes of their peace, concord, liberty, " in his virtue, authority, felicity; and from " a grateful fense of his merits, decree, that a " gilt Equestrian statue shall be erected to him

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA.

" by their order in the Rostra, or any other of part of the Forum, which he shall chuse-" [y]." He comes next to young Cæfar; and after enlarging on his praises, proposes, HIRTIUS. " that they should grant him a proper com-" mission and command over his Troops, with-" out which he could be of no use to them; " and that he should have the rank and all the " rights of a Propretor; not onely for the fake " of his dignity, but the necessary management " of their affairs, and the administration of the " war." And then offers the form of a Decree-" Whereas C. Cæsar, the Son of " Caius, Prieft, Proprætor, has, in the utmost " diffress of the Republic, excited and enlisted " Veteran Troops to defend the liberty of the "Roman people; and whereas the Martial and " fourth Legions, under the leading and au-" thority of C. Cæfar, have defended, and now es defend the Republic, and the liberty of the " Roman people; and whereas C. Cæfar is " gone at the head of his army to protect the " Province of Gaul; has drawn together a bo-66 dy of horse, archers, Elephants, under his own and the peoples power; and in the most dangerous crisis of the Republic, has support-" ed the fafety and dignity of the Roman peo-4 ple; for these reasons the Senate decrees, "that C. Casfar, the Son of Caius, Priest, " Proprætor, be henceforward a Senator, and " vote in the rank and place of a Pretor; and " that in folliciting for any future Magistracy, "the same regard be had to him, as would "have been had by law, if he had been Quæ-" ftor the year before ___ [2]. As to those,

who thought these honors too great for so A. Urb. 710. voung a man, and apprehended danger from " his abuse of them, he declares their appre- C. VIBIUS " hensions to be the effect of envy, rather than PANSA, " fear; fince the nature of things was fuch, A. HIRTIUS. " that he, who had once got a taste of true " glory, and found himself universally dear to " the Senate and people, could never think " any other acquisition equal to it: he wishes " that J. Cæsar had taken the same course, " when young, of endearing himself to the Seof nate and honest men; but by neglecting that, " he spent the force of his great genius in ac-" quiring a vain popularity; and having no " regard to the Senate and the better fort, " opened himself a way to power, which the " virtue of a free people could not bear ---" that there was nothing of this kind to be " feared from the Son; nor after the proof of " fuch admirable prudence in a boy, any ground " to imagine that his riper age would be less " prudent - for what greater folly could " there be, than to prefer an useless power, an " invidious greatness, the lust of reigning, al-" ways flippery and tottering, to true, weigh-"ty, folid glory? --- if they suspected him " as an enemy to some of their best and most "valued Citizens, they might lay afide those " fears, he had given up all his refentments to " the Republic; made her the Moderatrix of " all his acts — that he knew the most in-" ward fentiments of the youth; would pawn " his credit for him to the Senate and People; " would promife, engage, undertake, that he " would always be the same that he now was; " fuch as they should wish and defire to see VOL. III.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA,
A. HIRTIUS.

" him — [a]. He procedes also to give a " public testimonial of praise and thanks to " L. Egnatuleius, for his fidelity to the Repub-" lic, in bringing over the fourth Legion from "Antony to Cæsar; and moves, that it might be granted to him for that piece of fervice, " to fue for and hold any magistracy three years " before the legal time - [b]. Laftly, as to the Veteran Troops, which had followed " the authority of Cæsar and the Senate, and " especially the Martial, and Fourth Legions, " he moved, that an exemption from fervice " should be decreed to them and their children, " except in the case of a Gallic or domestic tu-" mult; and that the Confuls C. Pansa and "A. Hirtius, or one of them, should provide " lands in Campania, or elsewhere to be divi-" ded to them; and that as foon as the prefent " war was over, they should all be discharged, " and punctually receive whatever fumms of " money C. Cæfar had promifed to them when

This was the substance of his speech; in the latter part of which, the proposal of honors, the Senate readily agreed with him: and those those which were decreed to Octavius, seemed so extraordinary to Cicero himself, that he thought it proper to make an apology for them, yet there were others of the first rank who thought them not great enough; so that Philippus added the bonor of a Statue; Ser. Sulpicius, and Servilius, the privilege of suing for any Magistracy, still earlier than Cicero had proposed

fed [c]. But the affembly was much divided A. Urb. 710. about the main question, of sending a deputation to Antony: fome of the principal Senators were C. VIBIUS warmly for it; and the Confuls themselves fa- PANSA. vored it, and artfully avoided to put it to the A. HIRTIUS. vote [d]; which would otherwise have been carried by Cicero, who had a clear majority on his side. The debate being held on till night, was adjourned to the next morning, and kept up with the same warmth for three days successively, while the Senate continued all the time in Cicero's opinion, and would have paffed a decree conformable to it, had not Salvius the Tribun put his negative upon them [e]. This firmness of Antony's friends prevailed at last for an Embassy; and three Consular Senators were prefently nominated to it, S. Sulpicius, L. Piso, and L. Philippus: but their commission was strictly limited, and drawn up by Cicero himfelf; giving them no power to treat with Antony, but to carry to him onely the peremptory commands of the Senate, to quit the fiege of Modena, and defift from all bostilities in Gaul: they had instructions likewise, after the delivery of their meffage, to speak with D. Brutus in Modena, and fignify to him and his army, that the Senate and People had a grateful Sense of their Services.

Cic. 64.

[c] Statuam Philippus decrevit, celeritatem petitionis primo Servius, post majorem etiam Servilius: nihil tum nimium videbatur. Ad Brut.

[d] Has in fententias meas si Consules discessionem facere voluissent, omnibus istis latronibus auctoritate ipla Senatus jampridem de manibus arma cecidissent. Phil. 14. 7.

[e] Itaque hæc Sententia per triduum fic valuit, ut quamquam discessio facta non est, tamen præter paucos, omnes mihi affenfuri viderentur. Phil. 6. r. App. p. 559.

Cic. 64. Coff.

C. VIBIUS PANSA.

A. Urb. 710. Services, which would one day be a great honor to them [f].

THE unusual length of these debates greatly raised the curiosity of the City, and drew the A. HIRTIUS. whole body of the people into the Forum, to expect the iffue; where, as they had done also not long before, they could not forbear calling out upon Cicero with one voice, to come and give them an account of the deliberations [g]. He went therefore directly from the Senate into the Rostra, produced by Appuleius, the Tribun, and acquainted them in a speech with the result of their debates, - "that the Senate, excepting " a few, after they had flood firm for three days " to his opinion, had given it up at last, with " less gravity indeed than became them, yet " not meanly or shamefully, having decreed " not fo much an Embaffy as a denunciation " of war to Antony, if he did not obey it: " which carried indeed an appearance of feve-" rity; and he wished onely that it had carried " no delay — that Antony, he was fure, " would never obey it, nor ever fubmit to their " power, who had never been in his own-" that he would do therefore in that place what " he had been doing in the Senate; testify, " warn, and declare to them before-hand, that " Antony would perform no part of what their " Embassadors were sent to require of him-" that

> [f] Quamquam non est ala legatio, sed denunciatio belli, nisi paruerit-mittuntur enim qui nuncient, ne oppugnet Consulem defignatum, ne Mutinam obsideat. ne Provinciam depopuletur. -Phil. 6. 2.

Dantur mandatà legatis, ut D. Brutum, militesque ejus adeant, &c. ib. 3.

[g] Quid ego de universo populo R. dicam? qui pleno ac referto foro bis me una mente atque voce in concionem vocavit. Phil. 7. 8.

that he would still wast the country, besiege A. Urb. 710. " Modena, and not fuffer the Embassadors " themselves to enter the Town, or speak with C. VIBIUS "Brutus --- believe me, fays he, I know the Pansa, "violence, the impudence, the audaciousness of A. HIRTIUS. " the man - let our Embassadors then make " haft, which I know they are resolved to do; " but do you prepare your military habit; for " it is a part also of our decree, that if he does " not comply, we must all put on that garb: " we shall certainly put it on: he will never " obey: we shall lament the loss of so many " days which might have been employed in " action—[b]. I am not afraid, when he " comes to hear, how I have declared this be-" fore-hand, that for the fake of confuting me, " he should change his mind, and submit. He " will never do it; will not envy me this glo-" ry; will chuse rather, that you should think " me wife, than him modest" - he observes, " that tho' it would have been better to fend no " message, yet some good would flow from it " to the Republic; for when the Embassadors " shall make the report, which they furely will " make, of Antony's refusal to obey the Peo-" ple and Senate, who can be so perverse, as " to look upon him any longer as a Citizen?-"Wherefore wait, fays he, with patience, Ci-" tizens, the return of the Embassadors, and " digest the inconvenience of a few days: if on " their return they bring peace, call me preju-" diced; if war, provident [i]." — Then after affuring them, "of his perpetual vigilance " for their fafety, and applauding their won-" derful alacrity in the cause, and declaring, ce that

A. Urb. 710. 4 that of all the affemblies which he had feen. Cic. 64. " he had never known fo full an one as the Coff. " present," he thus concludes, "The season of C. VIBIUS " liberty is now come, my Citizens, much la-PANSA, A. HIRTIUS. " ter indeed than became the people of Rome; " but so ripe now, that it cannot be deferred " a moment. What we have hitherto suffered " was owing to a kind of fatality, which we " have born as well as we could; but if any " fuch case should happen again, it must be " owing to ourselves: it is not possible for the beople of Rome to be flaves, whom the Gods

" people of Rome to be flaves, whom the Gods have destined to the command of all nations:

"the affair is now reduced to the last extre-"mity; the struggle is for liberty: it is your "part either to conquer, which will surely be "the fruit of your piety and concord, or to

" fuffer any thing rather than live flaves: other nations may endure flavery; but the proper

" end and business of the Roman people is li-

" berty."

THE Embassadors prepared themselves immediately to execute their Commission, and the next morning early fet forward towards Antony, tho' Ser. Sulpicius was in a very declining state of health. Various were the speculations about the fuccess of this message: but Antony gained one certain advantage by it, of more time, either to press the siege of Modena, or to take fuch measures as fresh accidents might offer: nor were his friends without hopes of drawing from it some pretence for opening a treaty with him; so as to give room to the chiefs of the Cafarian Faction to unite themselves against the Senate and Republican party; which feemed to be inspired by Cicero, with a resolution of extinguishing all the remains of the late Tyranny.

For

Cic. 64.

For this purpose the Partisans of that cause were A. Urb. 710. endeavouring to obviate the offence, which might be given by Antony's refusal to comply C. VIBIUS with what was injoined; contriving specious PANSA, answers for him, and representing them as a rea- A. HIRTIUS. fonable ground of an accommodation, in hopes to cool the ardor of the City for the profecution of the war: Calenus was at the head of this party, who kept a conftant correspondence with Antony, and took care to publish such of his Letters, as were proper to depress the bopes and courage of bis adversaries, and keep up the spirits of his friends [k].

Cicero therefore, at a meeting of the Senate. ealled in this interval about certain matters of ordinary form, took occasion to rouse the zeal of the affembly, by warning them of the mifchief of these infinuations. He observed, "that " the affairs then proposed to their deliberation " were of little consequence, tho' necessary in " the common course of public business, about " the Appian way, the coin, the Luperci, which " would easily be adjusted; but that his mind " was called off from the confideration of them " by the more important concerns of the Re-" public — that he had always been afraid of " fending the Embaffy - and now every body " faw what a languor the expectation of it had " caused in peoples minds; and what a handle " it had given to the practices of those, who " grieved to fee the Senate recovering its an-" cient authority; the people united with them;

rum ? eas tu lætus proferas? virtutemque debilites? -describendas etiam des im- Phli. 7. 2.

[k] Ille litteras ad te mittat de spe sua secundarum reas animos? bonorum spem,

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA.

" all Italy on the same side; their armies pre-" pared; their Generals ready to take the " field-who feign answers for Antony, and " applaud them, as if they had fent Embassa-A. HIRTIUS. " dors not to give, but receive conditions from "him." — Then after exposing the danger and iniquity of fuch Practices, and rallying the principal abetter of them, Calenus, he adds, that he, who all his life had been the author " and promotor of civil peace; who owed " whatever he was, whatever he had to it; his " honors, interest, dignity; nay, even the ta-" lents and abilities which he was mafter of; " yet I, fays he, the perpetual adviser of peace, " am for no peace with Antony" --- where perceiving himself to be heard with great attention-he procedes to explain at large thro' the rest of his speech, "that such a peace would " be dishonorable, dangerous, and could not " possibly subsist -- he exhorts the Senate " therefore to be attentive, prepared and armed " before-hand; fo as not to be caught by a " fmooth or suppliant answer, and the false ap-" pearance of equity: that Antony must do " every thing which was prescribed to him, be-" fore he could pretend to ask any thing; if " not, that it was not the Senate which procla-" med war against him, but he against the Ro-" man people. But for you, Fathers, I give " you warning, fays he, the question before " you concerns the liberty of the people of " Rome, which is entrusted to your care; it " concerns the lives and fortunes of every ho-" nest man; it concerns your own authority; " which you will for ever lose, if you do not " retrieve it now - I admonish you too, " Pansa; for tho' you want no advice, in which vou excel, yet the best Pilots in great storms A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. " are fometimes admonished by passengers: ne-

" ver fuffer that noble provision of arms and C. VIBIUS troops which you have made, to come to no- Pansa,

" thing: you have fuch an opportunity before A. HIRTIUS.

" you as no man ever had: by this firmness of

" the Senate, this alacrity of the Equestrian " order, this ardor of the people, you have it

" in your power to free the Republic for ever

" from fear and danger-[1]."

THE Confuls in the mean while were taking care, that the expectation of the effect of the Embaffy should not superfede their preparations for war; and agreed between themselves, that one of them should march immediately to Gaul, with the troops which were already provided, and the other stay behind to perfect the new levies, which were carried on with great fuccess both in the City, and the Country: for all the capital Towns of Italy were vying with each other in voluntary contributions of money and foldiers; and in decrees of infamy and disgrace to those who refused to list themselves into the public service [m]. The first part fell by lot to Hirtius [n]; who, though but lately recovered from a dangerous indisposition, marched away without loss of time at the head of a brave army; and particularly, of the two Legions, the Martial and the fourth. which were esteemed the flower and strength of the whole, and now put themselves under the command and auspices of the Conful. these.

[/] Vid. Phil. 7. pax erit, quorum tanta studia cognoscuntur in decretis fa- lum profectus A. Hirtiusciendis, militibus dandis, pe-

cuniis pollicendis-hæc jam [m] An cum Municipiis tota Italia flunt. Phil. 7, 8, 9. [n] Consul sortitu ad bel-

Phil. 14. 2.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA,
A. HIRTIUS.

these, in conjunction with Octavius, he hoped to obstruct all the designs of Antony, and prevent his gaining any advantage against Brutus, till Pansa could join them, which would make them superior in force, and enable them to give him battel, with good affurance of victory. He contented himself in the mean while with difpossessing Antony of some of his posts; and distreffing him, by straitening his quarters, and opportunities of forage; in which he had fome fuccess, as he signified in a Letter to his Collegue Panfa, which was communicated to the Senate; I have possest myself, says he, of Claterna, and driven out Antony's garrison: bis borse were routed in the action, and some of them. flain [o]: and in all his Letters to Cicero, he affured him, that be would undertake nothing, without the greatest caution; in answer probably, to what Cicero was constantly inculcating, not to expose himself too forwardly, till Pansa could come up to him [p].

THE Embassadors returned about the beginning of February, having been retarded somewhat longer than they intended, by the death of Ser. Sulpicius; which happening when they were just arrived at Antony's camp, lest the Embassy maimed and impersect, as Cicero says, by the loss of the best and ablest man of the three [q]. The report, which they made to the Senate, answered exactly in every point to

[0] Dejeci præsidium, Claterna potitus sum, sugati equites, præsium commissum, occisi aliquot. Phil. 8. 2.

[p] Hirtius nihil nist confiderate, ut mihi crebris litteris fignificat, acturus videbatur. Ep. fam. 12. 5.

[q] Cum Ser. Sulpicius ætate illos anteiret, sapientia omnes, subito ereptus e caussa totam legationem orbam & debilitatam reliquit. Phil. 9.

what

Cic. 64.

what Cicero had foretold; that Antony would A. Urb. 710. perform no part of what was required, nor suffer them even to speak with Brutus, but continued to C. VIBIUS batter the Town with great fury in their presence: PANSA, he offered however some conditions of his own, A. HIRTIUS. which, contrary to their instructions, they were weak enough to receive from him, and lay before the Senate: the purport of them was, " that the Senate should assign lands and re-" wards to all his troops, and confirm all the " other grants, which he and Dolabella had " made in their Confulship: that all his decrees " from Cæfar's books and papers should stand " firm: that no account should be demanded " of the money taken from the Temple of O-" pis; nor any inquiry made into the conduct " of the feven Commissioners, created to di-" vide the lands to the Veteran foldiers; and " that his judiciary law should not be repealed: " on these terms he offered to give up Cisalpine "Gaul, provided, that he might have the " greater Gaul in exchange for five years, with " an army of fix Legions, to be compleated out " of the troops of D. Brutus [r]." PANSA summoned the Senate to consider the

report of the Embaffadors; which raifed a general indignation through the City, and gave all possible advantage to Cicero, towards bringing the House into his sentiments: but contrary to expectation, he found Calenus's party still ftrong

[r] Ante Consulis oculosque legatorum tormentis Mutinam verberavit—ne pun-ctum quidem temporis, cum legati adessent, oppugnatio respiravit — cum illi contempti & rejecti revertissent Phil. 8. 7, 8, 9.

dixissentque Senatui, non modo illum e Gallia non difcessisse, uti censuissemus, sed nea Mutina quidem recessisse, potestatem sibi D. Bruti conveniendi non fuiffe, &c. vid. A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA,
A. HIRTIUS.

strong enough to give him much trouble, and even to carry fome points against him; all tending to fosten the rigor of his motions, and give them a turn more favourable towards Antony. He moved the Senate to decree, that a war or rebellion was actually commenced: they carried it for a tumult: he urged them, to declare Antony an enemy: they carried it for a fofter term, of adversary[s]: he proposed, that all persons fhould be prohibited from going to Antony: they excepted Varius Cotyla, one of his Lieutenants, who was then in the Senate, taking notes of every thing which passed: in these votes Pansa bimself, and all the Consular Senators concurred; even L. Cæsar, who though a true friend to liberty, yet being Antony's Uncle, thought himself obliged by decency, to vote on the milder side [t].

But Cicero in his turn easily threw out, what was warmly pressed on the other side, the proposal of a second Embassy; and carried likewise the main question, of requiring the Citizens to change their ordinary gown, for the Sagum or habit of war: by which they decreed the thing, while they rejected the name. In all decrees of this kind, the Consular Senators, on the account of their dignity, were excused from changing their habit; but Cicero, to inculcate more sensibly the distress of the Republic, resolved to wave his privilege, and wear the same robe with the rest of the City [u]. In a Letter to Cassius,

[s] Ego princeps Sagorum; ego semper hostem appellavi, cum alii adversarium: semper hoc bellum, cum alii tumultum, &c. Phil. 12.7. quam hoc honore usi togati folent esse, cum est in sagis civitas; statui tamen a vobis, cæterisque civibus in tanta atrocitate temporis—non disferre vestitu. Phil. 8.11.

[[]t] Vid. Phil. 8. 1, 10. [u] Equidem, P. C. quam-

he gives the following short account of the state A. Urb. 710. of things at this time: "We have excellent Cic. 64. Cost." Consuls, but most shameful Consulars: a C. VIBIUS brave Senate; but the lower they are in dig- Pansa,

" nity, the braver: nothing firmer and better A. HIRTIUS.
" than the people, and all Italy universally:

"but nothing more detestable and infamous, than our Embassadors, Philip and Pifo: who, when fent onely to carry the orders of

"the Senate to Antony, none of which he

"would comply with, brought back, of their own accord, intolerable demands from him:

" wherefore all the world now flock about me;

" and I am grown popular in a falutary cause,

" &c. [x]."

THE Senate met again the next day, to draw into form, and perfect what had been refolved upon in the preceding debate: when Cicero, in a pathetic speech, took occasion to expostulate with them for their imprudent lenity the day before: "He shewed the absurdity of "their scruples about voting a civil war: that "the word Tumult, which they had preferred, either carried in it no real difference, or if any, implied a greater perturbation of all things "[y]: he proved from every step that Antomy had taken, and was taking; from every thing which the Senate, the People, the Towns

[x] Egregios Consules habemus, sed turpissimos consulares: Senatum fortem, sed infimo quemque honore fortissimum. Populo vero nihil fortius, nihil melius, Italiaque universa. Nihil autem sedius Philippo & Pisone legatis, nihil flagitiosius: qui cum essent miss, ut Antonio

ex S. C. certas res nunciarent: cum ille earum rerum nulli paruisset, ultro ab illo ad nos intolerabilia postulata retulerunt. Itaque ad nos concurritur: factique jam in re salutari populares sumus. Ep. sam. 12. 4.

[y] Phil. 8. 1.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA,
A. HIRTIUS.

" of Italy were doing and decreeing against "him, that they were truly and properly in a " state of civil war; the fifth which had hap-" pened in their memory, and the most despe-" rate of them all, being the first which was " ever raised, not by a diffension of parties con-" tending for a superiority in the Republic, but " against an union of all parties, to enslave and " oppress the Republic [2]. He proceeds to expostulate with Calenus, for his obstinate " adherence to Antony, and exposes the weak-" ness of his pretended plea for it; a love of " peace, and concern for the lives of the Citi-" zens --- he puts him in mind, that there was no juster cause of taking arms, than to " repel flavery; that feveral other causes indeed " were just, but this necessary: unless he did " not take himself to be affected by it, for the " hopes of sharing the dominion with Antony: " if lo, he was doubly mistaken; first, for pre-" ferring a private interest to the public; se-" condly, for thinking any thing fecure, or worth enjoying in a Tyranny—that a re-" gard for the fafety of Citizens was a laudable principle, if he meant the good, the useful, " the friends to their country; but if he meant " to fave those, who, tho' Citizens by nature, " were enemies by choice; what difference was "there between him and fuch Citizens? " that their Ancestors had quite another notion " of the care of Citizens; and when Scipio Na-" fica flew Tiberius Gracchus, when Opimius " flew Caius Gracchus, when Marius killed Sa-" turninus, they were all followed by the great-" est and the best both of the Senate and the " People

Cic. 64.

" People—that the difference between Ca- A. Urb. 710. " lenus's opinion and his was not trifling, or about a trifling matter; the wifning well one- C. VIBIUS " ly to this or that man: that he wished well to PANSA. "Brutus; Calenus to Antony; he wished to A. HIRTIUS. " fee a Colony of Rome preferved; Calenus to " fee it stormed: that Calenus could not deny this, who was contriving all forts of delay, es which could diffress Brutus, and strengthen " Antony-[a]." He then addressed himself to the other Consulars, and reproached them " for their shameful behaviour the day before. " in voting for a fecond Embaffy, and faid, that " when the Embassadors were sent against his " judgment, he comforted himfelf with ima-" gining, that as foon as they should return, " despised and rejected by Antony, and inform " the Senate, that he would neither retire from " Gaul, nor quit the siege of Modena, nor even " fuffer them to speak with Brutus; that out of " indignation they should all arm themselves immediately in the defence of Brutus; but on the contrary, they were grown more dispirited, to hear of Antony's audaciousness; and " their Embassadors, instead of courage, which et they ought to have brought, had brought back nothing but fear to them - [b]. Good Gods, fays he, what is become of the virtue " of our Ancestors? - When Popilius was er fent Embassador to Antiochus, and ordered "him, in the name of the Senate, to depart from Alexandria, which he was then belie-" ging; upon the King's deferring to answer, and contriving delays, he drew a circle round " him with his staff, and bad him give his an-" fwer

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

" fwer inftantly, before he stirred out of that place, or he would return to the Senate without it — he then recites and ridicules the " feveral demands made by Antony; their ar-" rogance, stupidity, abfurdity: and [c] re-" proves Pifo and Philip, men of fuch dignity. " for the meanness of bringing back conditions, 66 when they were fent onely to carry com-" mands — he complains, that they paid " more respect to Antony's Embassador, Co-" tyla, than he to theirs: for instead of shut-" ting the gates of the City against him, as they " ought to have done, they admitted him into " that very Temple where the Senate then fat; " where, the day before, he was taking notes " of what every man faid, and was careffed, invited and entertained by some of the princi-" pal Senators, who had too little regard to " their dignity, too much to their danger. But " what after all was the danger? which must " end either in liberty or death: the one al-" ways defirable, the other unavoidable: while " to fly from death basely, was worse than death " itself — that it used to be the character of " confular Senators, to be vigilant, attentive, " always thinking, doing, or proposing some-" thing for the good of the public: that he re-" membred old Scævola in the Marsic war, " how in the extremity of age, oppressed with " years and infirmities, he gave free access to " every body; was never feen in his bed; al-" ways the first in the Senate: he wished that " they all would imitate fuch industry; or at " least not envy those who did [d]: that fince " they had now suffered a fix years slavery, a " longer longer term than honest and industrious slaves A. Urb. 716.

"used to serve; what watchings, what sollicitude, what pains ought they to refuse, for the Cost.

"tude, what pains ought they to refuse, for the C. VIBIUS fake of giving liberty to the Roman people?" PANSA,

He concludes, by adding a clause to their last decree; "to grant pardon and impunity to all "who should desert Antony, and return to their duty by the sisteenth of March: or if any who continued with him, should do any service worthy of reward; that one or both the Confuls should take the first opportunity to move the Senate in their favor: but if any person

" except Cotyla, that the Senate would confider him as an enemy to his country.

" from this time should go over to Antony,

THE public debates being thus adjusted, Pansa called the Senate together again the next day, to deliberate on some proper honors to be decreed to the memory of Ser. Sulpicius, who died upon the Embaffy - he spoke largely in his praise, and advised to pay him all the honors, which had ever been decreed to any, who had loft their lives in the service of their country: 4 public funeral, sepulcher, and statue. Servilius, who spoke next, agreed to a funeral and monument, but was against a flatue, as due onely to those, who had been killed by violence, in the discharge of their Embassies. Cicero was not content with this, but out of private friendship to the man, as well as a regard to the public fervice, refolved to have all the honors paid to him, which the occasion could possibly justify: in answer therefore to Servilius, he shewed with his usual eloquence, that " the case of Sulpicius was the same with the case of those, who had been killed on the account of their Em-" baffies: that the Embaffy itself had killed VOL. III.

A. Urb. 710. " him: that he fet out upon it in so weak a Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

condition, that though he had fome hopes " of coming to Antony, he had none of re-" turning; and when he was just arrived to the " congress, expired in the very act of executing " his Commission [e]: that it was not the man-" ner, but the cause of the death, which their " Ancestors regarded: if it was caused by the " Embassy, they granted a public monument, to " encourage their fellow Citizens, in dangerous " wars, to undertake that employment with " chearfulness: that several statues had been " erected on that account; which none had ever " merited better than Sulpicius — that there " could be no doubt, but that the Embassy had " killed him; and that he had carried out death " along with him, which he might have escaped " by staying at home, under the care of his wife " and children - [f]. But when he faw, " that if he did not obey the authority of the " Senate, he should be unlike to himself; and " if he did obey, must necessarily lose his life; " he chose, in so critical a state of the Repub-" lic, rather to die, than feem to decline any " fervice, which he could possibly do: that he " had many opportunities of refreshing and re-" poling himself in the Cities, through which " he passed, and was pressed to it by his Colse legues; but in spite of his distemper, perse-" vered-to death in the resolution of urging his " journey, and hastening to perform the com-mands of the Senate — that, if they recol-" lected, how he endeavoured to excuse himself " from the talk, when it was first moved in the Senate, they must needs think, that this ho-

nor to him, when dead, was but a necessary A. Urb. 710. amends for the injury, which they had done to him, when living: for, though it was C. VIBIUS " harsh to be said, yet he must say it; that it PANSA, " was they, who had killed him, by over-ruling A. HIRTIUS. " his excuse, when they saw it grounded, not " on a feigned, but a real fickness: and when to their remonstrance, the Consul Pansa join-" ed his exhortation, with a gravity and force " of fpeech, which his ears had not learnt to " bear, then, fays he, he took his Son and " me aside, and professed, that he could not to help preferring your authority to his own " life: we, through admiration of his virtue, " durst not venture to oppose his will: his Son was tenderly moved, nor was my concern " much less; yet both of us were obliged to " give way to the greatness of his mind, and " the force of his reasoning; when to the joy of you all, he promifed, that he would do " whatever you prescribed, nor would decline the danger of that vote, of which he himself had been the proposer --- restore life therefore to " him, from whom you have taken it: for the " life of the dead is in the memory of the li-" ving: take care, that he, whom you unwil-" lingly fent to his death, receive an immorta-". lity from you: for if you decree a statue to " him in the Rostra, the remembrance of his " Embaffy will remain to all posterity - [g]." Then after illustrating the great virtues, talents, and excellent character of Sulpicius, he observes, " that all these would be perpetuated by their " own merit and effects, and that the statue " was the monument rather of the gratitude of

Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA A. Hirrits.

A. Urb. 710. " the Senate, than of the fame of the man; of " a public, rather than of a private fignificati-" on; an eternal testimony of Antony's audacioufnels; of his waging an impious war a-" gainst his country; of his rejecting the Em-" baffy of the Senate - [b]." For which reasons, he proposed a decree, " that a statue " of brass should be erected to him in the Ro-" ftra, by order of the Senate, and the cause " inscribed on the base; that he died in the ser-" vice of the Republic; with an area of five feet " on all fides of it, for his children and poste-" rity to fee the shews of Gladiators - that " a magnificent funeral should be made for him " at the public charge; and the Conful Panfa " should affign him a place of burial, in the " Esquiline field, with an area of thirty feet e-" very way, to be granted publicly, as a fe-" pulcher for him, his children and posteri-"ty."-The Senate agreed to what Cicero defired; and the statue itself, as we are told by a writer of the third Century, remained to his time, in the Rostra of Augustus [i].

Sulpicius was of a noble and patrician family, of the fame age, the fame studies, and the same principles with Cicero, with whom he kept up a perpetual friendship. They went through their exercifes together when young, both at Rome, and at Rhodes, in the celebrated school of Molo: whence he became an eminent Pleader of causes, and passed through all the great offices of the state, with a fingular reputation of wildom, learning, integrity; a constant admiver of the modelty of the ancients; and a reprover of the infolence of his own times. When

he

Cic. 64.

he could not arrive at the first degree of fame, A. Urb. 710. as an Orator, he resolved to excell in what was next to it, the character of a Lawyer; chuling C. VIBIUS rather to be the first, in the second art, than the PANSA. fecond onely in the first: leaving therefore to his A. HIRTIUS. friend Cicero the field of eloquence, he contented himself with such a share of it, as was sufficient to sustain and adorn the profession of the law. In this he succeded to his wish; and was far fuperior to all, who had ever professed it in Rome; being the first, who reduced it to a proper science, or rational System; and added light and method to that, which all others before him, had taught darkly and confusedly. Nor was his knowledge confined to the external forms, or the effects of the Municipal Laws: but enlarged by a comprehenfive view of univerfal equity, which he made the interpreter of it's fanctions, and the rule of all his decisions; yet he was always better pleased to put an amicable end to a controversy, than to direct a process at law. In his political behaviour he was always a friend to peace and liberty; moderating the violence of opposite parties, and discouraging every step towards civil dissenfion; and, in the late war, was fo bufy in contriving projects of an accommodation, that he gained the name of the Peace Maker. Through a natural timidity of temper, confirmed, by a profession and course of life averse from arms, though he preferred Pompey's cause as the best, he did not care to fight for it; but taking Cæfar's to be the strongest, suffered his son to sollow that camp, while he himself continued quiet and neuter: for this he was honored by Cæfar, yet could never be induced to approve his government. From the time of Cæsar's death, he continued still to advise and promote all mea-K 3 fures.

A. Urb. 710 fures, which feemed likely to establish the pubCic. 64. lic concord; and died at last, as he had lived,
C. VIBIUS in the very act and office of peace making [k].
PANSA,
A. HIRTIUS.

[k] Non facile quem dixerim plus Studii quam illum & ad dicendum, & ad omnes bonarum rerum disciplinas adhibuisse: nam & in iisdem exercitationibus incunte ætate fuimus; & postea Rhodum una ille etiam profectus eft, quo melior effet & doctior: & inde ut rediit, videtur mihi in secunda arte primus esse maluisse, quam in prima secundus—sed fortaffe maluit, id quod est adeptus, longe omnium non ejusdem modo ætatis, sed eorum etiam qui fuissent, in jure civili ese princeps-juris civilis magnum usum & apud Scavolam & apud multos fuisse, artem in hoc unohic enim attulit hanc artemquasi lucem ad ea, quæ confuse ab aliis aut respondebantur aut agebantur _ [Brut. 262, &c.] neque ille magis Juris consultus, quam justitiæ fuit: ita ea quæ proficiscebantur a legibus & a jure civili semper ad facilitatem æquitatemque referebat: neque constituere litium actiones malebat, quam controversias tollere. [Phil. 9. 5.] Servius vero Pacificator cum suo librariolo videtur obiisse legationem. [Ad Att. 15.7.] cognoram enim jam absens, te hæc mala multo ante providentem, defensorem pacis & in Consulatu tuo & post

Consulatum suisse. [Ep. fam. 4. 1.]

N. B. The old Lawyers tell a remarkable story of the origin of Sulpicius's fame and skill in the law: that going one day to consult Mucius Scævola about some point, he was so dull in apprehending the meaning of Mucius's answer, that after explaining it to him twice or thrice, Mucius could not forbear saying, It is a shame for a Nobleman, and a Patrician, and a Pleader of causes, to be ignorant of that law, which be professes to understand. The reproach stung him to the quick, and made him apply himself to his studies with such industry, that he became the ablest Lawyer in Rome; and left behind him near a bundred and eighty books written by himself on nice and difficult questions of law. Digest. 1. 1. Tit. 2. parag. 43.-

The Jesuits Catrou and Rouille have put this Sulpicius into the list of the Confipirators, who killed Cæfar: but a moderate acquaintance with the character of the man, or with Cicero's writings, would have shewn them their error, and that there was none of Confular rank, but Trebonius concerned in that affair. Hist. Rom. Vol. 17. p. 343. Not. a.

THE Senate had heard nothing of Brutus and A. Urb. 710. Cassius from the time of their leaving Italy, till Brutus now fent public Letters to the Confuls, C. VIBIUS giving a particular account of his fuccess against PANSA, " Antony's brother Caius, in securing Macedo- A. HIRTIUS. " nia, Illyricum, and Greece, with all the feve-" ral armies in those countries to the interests " of the Republic: that C. Antony was retired " to Apollonia, with feven Cohorts; where a " good account would foon be given of him: " that a Legion under L. Piso had surrendered " itself to young Cicero, the Commander of his " Horse: that Dolabella's Horse, which was " marching in two separate bodies towards Syria, the one in Thessaly, the other in Mace-" donia, had deserted their Leaders, and join-" ed themselves to him: that Vatinius had opened the gates of Dyrrbachium to him, and " given up the Town with his troops into his " hands: that in all these transactions, Q. Hor-" tensius, the Proconful of Macedonia, had been " particularly ferviceable, in difposing the Pro-" vinces and their armies to declare for the " cause of liberty [1]."

PANSA no sooner received the letters, than he summoned the Senate, to acquaint them with the contents; which raised an incredible joy through the whole City [m]: after the letters were read, Pansa spoke largely in the praises of Brutus; extolled his conduct and services; and moved, that public honors and thanks should be decreed to him: and then according to his custom, called upon his Father in law Calenus, to declare his K 4 sentiments

[1] Vid. Philip. x. 4, 5, 6. quæ lætitia Senatus, quæ 2-[m] Dii immortales! qui lacritas civitatis erat?—Adiille nuncius, quæ illæ litteræ, Brut. l. 2, 7

Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS A. HIRTIUS

A. Urb. 710. fentiments the first: who, in a premeditated speech, delivered from writing, ledged Brutus's letters to be well and proper-" ly drawn; but fince what he had done, was "done without any commission and public authority, that he should be required to deliver up his forces to the orders of the Seate, or the proper Governors of the Pro-" vinces [n]." Cicero spoke next, "and began with giving the thanks of the House to Pania, for calling them together on that day, when they had no expectation of it; and not deferring a moment to give them a " share of the joy, which Brutus's letters had " brought. He observes, that Pansa, by speaking fo largely in the praise of Brutus, had " shewn that to be true, which he had always " taken to be fo, that no man ever envied another's virtue, who was conscious of his own: " that he had prevented him, to whom, for " his intimacy with Brutus, that talk feemed "particularly to belong, from faying fo much, " as he intended, on that subject" --- then addreffing himself to Calenus, he alks, "What " could be the meaning of that perpetual war, which he declared against the Brutus's? why he alone was always opposing, when every one else was almost adoring them? - that to talk of Brutus's letters being rightly drawn, was not to praise Brutus, but his secretarywhen did he ever hear of a decree in that stile, that Letters were properly written: yet the expression did not fall from him by chance, but was defigned, premeditated, and brought in writing - [0]. He exhorts him to confult

with his fon in law Pansa oftener than with A. Urb. 710. " himself, if he would preserve his character: or professes, that he could not help pitying him, C. Visios to hear it given out among the people, that PANSA, " there was not a fecond vote on the fide of him, A. HIRTIUS, who gave the first; which would be the case, he believed, in that days debate. You would take away, fays he, the Legions " from Brutus, even those which he has drawn off from the traiterous defigns of C. Antony. and engaged by his own authority in the pub-" lie fervice: you would have him fent once es more, as it were, into banishment, naked and forlorn: but for you, Fathers, if ever " you betray or defert Brutus, what Citizen will you honor? whom will you favour? un-" less you think those, who offer Kingly Diadems, worthy to be preferved; those who abolish the name of King, to be abandoned. " He proceeds to display with great force the " merit and praises of Brutus; his moderation. " mildness, patience of injuries: how studiously " he had avoided every ftep, which could give " a handle to civil tumults; quitting the City; " living retired in the country; forbidding the " refort of friends to him; and leaving Italy it-" felf, left any cause of war should arise on his " account—that as long as he faw the Senate " disposed to bear every thing, he was resolved to bear too; but when he perceived them in-" spired with a spirit of liberty, he then exerted " himself to provide them succors to defend it " -[p] that if he had not defeated the desperate " attempts of C. Antony, they had loft Mace-" donia, Illyricum, and Greece; the last of " which

Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS

A. Urb. 710. 66 which afforded either a commodious retreat " to Antony, when driven out of Italy, or the best opportunity of invading it: which now, by Brutus's management, being strongly pro-A. HIRTIUS. " vided with troops, stretched out it's arms, as "it were, and offered it's help to Italy."[9] " -That Caius's march through the Provin-" ces was, to plunder the allies, to scatter wast

" and defolation where-ever he passed, to em-" ploy the armies of the Roman people against " the people themselves: whereas Brutus made it a law, wherefoever he came, to difpense

" light, hope, and fecurity to all around him: " in short, that the one gathered forces to pre-" ferve, the other to overturn the Republic:

" that the foldiers themselves could judge of this, " as well as the Senate; as they had declared, " by their defertion of C. Antony, who by that

"time either was, or would foon be Brutus's " prisoner [r]—that there was no apprehension of danger from Brutus's power; that his Le-

gions, his Mercenaries, his Horse, and above " all, himself was wholly theirs; formed for the

" fervice of the Republic, as well by his own ex-" cellent virtue, as a kind of fatality derived from

" his Ancestors, both on the Father's and the Mo-" ther's fide-that none could ever blame him

" for any thing, unless for too great a back-" wardness and aversion to war; and his not

" humoring the ardor of all Italy in their eager " thirst of liberty—that it was a vain fear, which

" fome pretended to entertain, that the Vete-" rans would be difgusted to see Brutus at the

" head of an army; as if there were any diffe-

" rence between his army, and the armies of Hir-

tius, Pansa, D. Brutus, Octavius; all which A. Urb. 710. " had feverally received public honors for their defence of the people of Rome: that M. C. VIBIUS " Brutus could not be more suspected by the PANSA, " Veterans, than Decimus; for though the act A. HIRTIUS. of the Brutus's, and the praise of it was com-" mon to them both, yet those, who disapor proved it, were more angry with Decimus; " as thinking him, of all others, the laft, who ought to have done it: yet what were all their " armies now doing, but relieving Decimus from the fiege? [s]—that if there was any " real danger from Brutus, Pansa's sagacity " would easily find it out: but as they had just so now heard from his own mouth, he was so " far from thinking his army to be dangerous, " that he looked upon it as the firmest support of the Commonwealth [t]—that it was the " constant art of the disaffected, to oppose the " name of the Veterans to every good delign: that he was always ready to encourage their valour, but would never endure their arro-" gance. Shall we, fays he, who are now " breaking off the shackles of our servitude, be " discouraged, if any one tells us, that the Ve-" terans will not have it so? -let that then come out from me at last, which is true, and 66 becoming my character to speak; that if the resolutions of this Body must be governed by the will of the Veterans; if all our words and 4.6 acts must be regulated by their humor, then it is high time to wish for death; which to 44 Roman Citizens was ever preferable to flave-" ry [u] — that fince fo many chances of death " furrounded

[[]s] Ibid. 7. [r] Ibid. 8. [u] Ibid. 9.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

" furrounded them all both day and night, it " was not the part of a man, much less of a " Roman, to scruple the giving up that breath " to his Country, which he must necessarily " give up to nature [x]—that Antony was the fingle and common enemy of them all; " though he had indeed his brother Lucius with "him who feemed to be born on purpose, " that Marcus might not be the most infamous of " all mortals: that he had a crew also of despe-" rate Villains gaping after the spoils of the Re-" public-that the army of Brutus was provies ded against these; whose sole will, thought, " and purpose was, to protect the Senate and " the liberty of the people-who after trying " in vain, what patience would do, found it ne-" ceffary at last to oppose force to force [y]---" that they ought therefore to grant the fame " privilege to M. Brutus, which they had grant-" ed before to Decimus, and to Octavius; and " confirm by public authority, what he had " been doing for them by his private counfil." -For which purpose he proposed the following decree-" Whereas by the pains, counfil, in-" dustry, virtue of Q. Capio Brutus [2], Pro-" conful, in the utmost distress of the Republic, the Province of Macedonia, Wyricum, and " Greece, with all their Legions, Armies, " Horse, are now in the power of the Consuls, " Senate and People of Rome; that Q. Capio " Brutus, Proconful, has acted therein well, and " for the good of the Republic; agreeably to sombon midnestra

had been adopted lately by of his Uncle's effate.

his Mother's brother, Q.

[7] Ibid. 11.

[2] M. Brutus, as appears according to custom, he now from the stile of this decree, assumed with the possession. his Mother's brother, Q.

his character, the dignity of his ancestors, and A. Urb. 715.
to his usual manner of serving the Common-Cic. 64.
wealth; and that his conduct is and ever will C. VIBIUS
be acceptable to the Senate and People of Pansa,
Rome. That Q. Cæpio Brutus, Proconsul, A. HIRTIUS.

Rome. " be ordered, to protect, guard, and defend " the province of Macedonia, Illyricum, and all " Greece; and command that army, which he " himself has raised: that whatever money he " wants for military fervice, he may use and " take it from any part of the public revenues, " where it can best be raised; or borrow it " where he thinks proper; and impose contri-" butions of grain and forage; and take care to "draw all his troops as near to Italy as poffible: " and whereas it appears by the Letters of Q. "Cæpio Brutus Proconful, that the public fer-" vice has been greatly advanced, by the En-" deavours and Virtue of Q. Hortenfius Pro-" conful; and that he concerted all his mea-" fures with Q. Cæpio Brutus Proconful, to the or great benefit of the commonwealth; that Q. " Hortenfius Proconful, has acted therein right-" ly, regularly, and for the public good; and " that it is the will of the Senate, that Q. Hor-" tensius Proconsul, with his Quæstors, Pro-" quæstors, and Lieutenants, hold the Province of Macedonia, till a fuccessor be appointed by

"the Senate."

CICERO sent this speech to Brutus, with that also, which he made on the first of January; of which Brutus says in answer to him, "I have read your two orations, the one on the subject of my letters, against Calenus: you expect now without doubt, that I should praise them:

"I am at a loss what to praise the most in them:

Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA,

A. Urb. 710. " your courage, or your abilities: I allow you. " now in earnest to call them Philippics, as you " intimated jocosely in a former Letter [a]." -Thus the name of Philippics, which feems to A. HIRTIUS. have been thrown out at first in gayety and jest onely, being taken up and propagated by his friends, became at last the fixt and standing title

of these Orations: which yet for several ages. were called, we find, indifferently either Philippics or Antonians [b]. Brutus declared himself so well pleased with these two, which he had seen, that Cicero promised to send him afterwards all

the rest [c].

BRUTUS, when he first left Italy, failed directly for Athens; where he spent some time in concerting measures, how to make himself mafter of Greece and Macedonia; which was the great design that he had in view. Here he gathered about him all the young Nobility and Gentry of Rome, who, for the opportunity of their education, had been fent to this celebrated feat of learning: but of them all, he took the most notice of young Cicero; and after a little acquaintance, grew very fond of him; admiring bis parts and virtue, and surprized to find in one so young, such a generosity and greatness of mind, with such an aversion to Tyranny [d]. He made him

[a] Legi orationes tuas duas, quarum altera Kal. Jan. usus es; altera de litteris meis, quæ habita est abs te contra Calenum. Nunc scilicet hoc expectas, dum eas laudem. Nescio animi an ingenii tui major in illis libellis laus contineatur. Jam concedo, ut vel Phillippica vocentur, quod tu quadam

epistola jocans scripsisti. Ad

Brut 1. 2. 5.
[6] M. Cicero in primo Antonianarum ita scriptum reliquit. A. Gell. 13. 1.

[c] Hæc ad te Oratio perferetur, quoniam te video delectari Philippicis nostris. Ad Brut. 2. 4. [4] Vid. Plutar. in Brut.

Coff.

him therefore one of his Lieutenants, tho' he A. Urb. 716. was but twenty years old; gave him the command of bis Horse; and employed him in several com- C: VIBIUS missions of great trust and importance; in all Pansa. which the young man fignalized both his cou- A. HIRTIUS. rage and conduct; and behaved with great credit to himself, great satisfaction to his General, and great benefit to the public service: as Brutus did him the justice to fignify both in his private and public Letters to Rome. In writing to Cicero, "Your fon, fays he, recommends him-" felf to me so effectually by his industry, patience, activity, greatness of mind, and in " fhort, by every duty, that he feems never to "drop the remembrance of whose son he is: wherefore fince it is not possible for me to " make you love him more than you do al-" ready, yet allow thus much to my judgment, as to perfuade yourfelf, that he will have no " occasion to borrow any share of your glory, " in order to obtain his Father's honors-[e]." This account given by one, who was no flatterer, may be considered as the real character of the youth: which is confirmed likewise by what Lentulus wrote of him about the fame time: " I could not fee your fon, fays he, when I " was last with Brutus, because he was gone " with the Horse into winter quarters: but by " my faith, it gives me great joy for your fake.

[e] Cicero filius tuus fic pluris facias eum, qui tibi est mihi se probat, industria, patientia, labore, animi magnitudine, omni denique officujus fit filius. Quare quo- 1. 2. 3. niam efficere non possum, ut

carissimus, illud tribue judicio meo, ut tibi persuadeas, non fore illi abutendum glocio, ut prorfus nunquam di- ria tua, ut adipiscatur honores mittere videtur cogitationem, paternos. Kal. Apr. ad Brut. Cir. 54. Coff. C. Versus Pansa, A. Hirrius.

"for his, and especially my own, that he is in fuch esteem and reputation: for as he is your fon, and worthy of you, I cannot but look

" upon him as my Brother [f]."

which were the subject of his Letters to Brutus, that he had scarce leisure to take notice of what was said about his son: he just touches it however in one or two Letters: "As to my Son, if his merit be as great as you write, I rejoice at it as much as I ought to do: or if you magnify it, out of love to him, even that gives me an incredible joy, to perceive, that he is beloved by you [g]. Again; I desire you, my dear Brutus, to keep my son with you as much as possible: he will find no better school of virtue, than in the contemplation and imitation of you [b]."

THOUGH Brutus intimated nothing in his public Letters, but what was prosperous and encouraging, yet in his private accounts to Cicero, he signified a great want of money and recruits, and begged to be supplied with both from Haly, especially with recruits; either by a rote of the Senate, or if that could not be had,

by

filiam tuum, ad Brutum cum weni, videre non potui, ideo quod jam in hiberna, cum equitibus erat profectus. Sed medius fidius eache cum opinione, & tua & ipfius, & in primis mea caula gandeo. Fratris enim locomihicat, qui ex te natus, teque dignus est. Vale 1111. Kal Jun. Ep. Fam. 12. 14.

[g] De Cicerone meo, & onem atque imitationem fi tantum est in eo, quantum x111. Kal. Maii. ib. q.

foribis, tantum scilicet quantum debeo, gaudeo: & si, quod amas eum, eo majorafacis; id ipsum incredibiliter gaudeo, a te eum deligi. Ad Brut. 2. 6.

Brute, velim quam plurimum tecum habeas. Virtutis disciplinam meliorem reperiet nullam, quam contemplationem atque imitationem qui.

by some secret management, without the privity A. Urb. 710. of Pansa; to which Cicero answered, "You " tell me, that you want two necessary things, C. VIBIUS " recruits and money: it is difficult to help PANSA. " you. I know no other way of raising mo- A. HIRTIUS. " ney which can be of use to you, but what " the Senate has decreed, of borrowing it from " the Cities. As to recruits, I do not fee what " can be done: for Pansa is so far from grant-" ing any share of his army or recruits to you. "that he is even uneafy to fee fo many volun-" tiers going over to you: his reason, I take " it, is, that he thinks no forces too great for " the demands of our affairs in Italy: for as to " what many suspect, that he has no mind to " fee you too strong, I have no suspicion of " it [i]." Pansa seems to have been much in the right, for refuling to part with any troops out of Italy, where the stress of the war now lay, on the fuccess of which the fate of the whole Republic depended.

But there came news of a different kind about the same time to Rome, of Dolabella's successfull exploits in Asia. He left the City, as it is faid above, before the expiration of his Confulfhip, to possess himself of Syria; which had VOL. III.

[i] Quod egere te duabus necessariis rebus scribis, supplemento & pecunia, difficile confilium eft. Non enim mihi occurrunt facultates, præter illas, quas Senatus decrevit, ut pecunias a civitasupplemento autem non video, quid fieri possit. Tantum enim abest ut Pansa de

exercitu suo-aut delectu tibi aliquid tribuat, ut etiam moleste ferat, tam multos ad te ire voluntarios: quomodo equidem credo, quod his requibus uti te posse videam, bus quæ in Italia decernuntur, nullas copias nimis magnas arbitretur : quomodo zibus mutuas sumeres. De autem multi suspicantur, quod ne te quidem nimis firmum esse velit; quod ego non suspicor. Ibid. 6.

Cic. 64. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

A. Urb. 710. been allotted to him by Antony's management: and taking his way through Greece and Macedonia, to gather what money and troops he could raise in those countries, he passed over into Asa, in hopes of inducing that Province to abandon Trebonius, and declare for him: having fent his Emissaries therefore before him to prepare for his reception, he arrived before Smyrna, where Trebonius refided, without any shew of hostility, or forces sufficient to give any great alarm, pretending to defire nothing more, than a free passage through the Country to his own Province. Trebonius refused to admit him into the Town; but consented to supply bim with refreshments without the gates: where many civilities passed between them, with great professions on Dolabella's part of amity and friendship to Trebonius, who promised in his turn that if Dolabella would depart quietly from Smyrna, be fould be received into Ephefus, in order to pass forward towards Syria. To this Dolabella feemingly agreed; and finding it impracticable to take Smyrna by open force, contrived to furprize it by ftratagem : embracing therefore Trebonius's offer, he fet forward towards Ebbe. his; but after he had marched feveral miles, and Trebonius's men, who were fent after to observe him, were retired; he turned back instantly in the night, and arriving again at Smyrma before day, found it, as he expected, negligently guarded, and without any apprehension of an affault; fo that his foldiers, by the help of ladders, prefently mounting the walls, possessed themselves of it without opposition, and seized Trebonius himself in his bed, before he knew any thing of his danger [k].

DOLABELLA

Cic. 64.

DOLABELLA treated him with the utmost A. Urb. 710. cruelty; kept bim two days under torture, to extort a discovery of all the money in his custody; C. VIBIUS then ordered his head to be cut off, and carried a- PANSA, bout on a Spear; and his body to be dragged about A. HIRTIUS. the streets and thrown into the sea [1]. This was the first blood, that was spilt on the account of Cæsar's death; which was now revenged in kind upon one of the principal Conspirators, and the onely one, who was of Confular rank. It had been projected without doubt in concert with Antony, to make the revenge of Cæfar's death the avowed cause of their arms, in order to draw the Veterans to their fide, or make them unwilling at least to act against them : and it gave a clear warning to Brutus, and his affociates, what they were to expect, if their enemies prevailed, as well as a fad prefage to all honest men of the cruel effects and merciless fury of the impending war.

On the news of Trebonius's death, the Senate was fummoned by the Conful, where Dolabella was unanimoufly declared a public enemy and bis estate confiscated. Calenus himfelf first proposed the vote, and said, that if any thing more severe could be thought of, be would be for it: the indignation of the City was so inflamed,

[/] Consecutus est Dolabella, nulla suspicione belli. -Secutæ collocutiones familiares cum Trebonio; complexusque summæ benevolentiæ-nocturnus introitus in Smyrnam, quali in hostium urbem: oppressus Trebonius victoria liberalis videretur. Phil. zi. 2, 3.

Cum verborum contumeliis optimum virum incesto ore lacerasset, tum verberibus ac tormentis quæstionem habuit pecuniæ publicæ, idque per biduum. Post cervicibus fraetis caput abscidit, idque adfixum gestari justit in pilo ; interficere captum statim reliquum corpus tractum ac noluit, ne nimis, credo, in laniatum abjecit in mare, &c.

that

Cic: 64. C. VIBIUS PANSA.

. A. Urb. 710. that he was forced to comply with the popular humor, and hoped perhaps to put some difficulty upon Cicero, who, for his relation to Dolabella, would, as he imagined, be for mode-A. HIRTIUS. rating the punishment. But the Calenus was mistaken in this, he was concerned in moving another question, which greatly perplexed Cicero, about the choice of a General, to manage this new war against Dolabella. Two opinions were proposed; the one, that P. Servilius should be fent with an extraordinary Commission; the other, that the two Confuls should jointly profecute that war, with the Provinces of Syria and Asia allotted to them. This was very agreeable to Panfa, and pushed therefore not onely by his friends, but by all Antony's Party, who fancied, that it would take off the attention of the Confuls from the war of Italy; give Dolabella time to strengthen himself in Asia; raise a coldness between the Consuls and Cicero, if he ventured to oppose it; and above all, put a public affront upon Cassius; who by his presence in those parts, seemed to have the best pretension to that Commission. The debate continued thro' the first day, without coming to any iffue; and was adjourned to the next. In the mean while Caffius's mother in law, Servilia, and other friends, were endeavouring to prevail with Cicero to drop the opposition, for fear of alienating Pansa: but in vain; for he resolved at all hazards to defend the honor of Cassius; and when the debate was refumed the next morning, exerted all his interest and eloquence to procure a decree in his favor.

HE began his speech by observing, "that in their prefent grief for the lamentable fate of Trebonius, the Republic however would e six lid . research villand . foreap

reap some good from it, since they now saw A. Urb. 710. the barbarous cruelty of those, who had taken arms against their country: for of the C. VIBLUS two Chiefs of the present war, the one, by PANSA. " effecting what he wished, had discovered what A. HIRTIUS. " the other aimed at [m]. That they both " meant nothing less than the death and de-" struction of all honest men; nor would be " fatisfied, it feemed, with simple death, for " that was the punishment of nature, but thought " the rack and tortures due to their revenge -" that what Dolabella had executed, was the " picture of what Antony intended: that they " were a true pair, exactly matched, marching " by concert and equal paces in the execution " of their wicked purposes" — this he illustrates by parallel instances from the conduct' of each; and after displaying the inhumanity of Dolabella, and the unhappy fate of Trebonius, in a manner proper to excite indignation against the one, and compassion for the other; he shews, "that Dolabella was " still the more unhappy of the two, and must " needs fuffer more from the guilt of his mind, " than Trebonius from the tortures of his bo-" dy what doubt, fays he, can there be " which of them is the most miserable? he " whose death the Senate and People are eager "to revenge; or he, who is adjudged to be a " traitor by the unanimous vote of the Senate?" " for in all other respects, it is the greatest in-" jury to Trebonius, to compare his life with "Dolabella's. As to the one, every body "knows his wifdom, wit, humanity, innocence, " greatness of mind in freeing his country; but L 3

A. Urb. 710. " as to the other, cruelty was his delight from Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

" a boy, with a lewdness so shameless and aban-" doned, that he used to value himself for do-" ing, what his very adversaries could not ob-" ject to him with modefly. Yet this man, " good Gods! was once mine: for I was not " very curious to inquire into his vices; nor " should I now perhaps have been his enemy," " had he not shewn himself an enemy to you, " to his country, to the domestic Gods and " Altars of us all; nay, even to nature and hu-" manity itself [n]. He exhorts them, from " this warning given by Dolabella, to act with " the greater vigor against Antony: for if he, " who had about him but a few of those capital " incendiaries, the ringleaders of rapine and re-" bellion, durst attempt an act so abominable, " what barbarity were they not to expect from "Antony, who had the whole crew of them in " his camp?" — the principal of whom the describes by name and character; and adds, " that as he had often diffented unwillingly from "Calenus, fo now at last he had the pleasure to " agree with him, and to let them fee that he " had no diflike to the man, but to the cause: " that in this cafe, he not onely concurred with " him but thanked him for propounding a vote " fo severe, and worthy of the Republic, in de-" creeing Dolabella an enemy, and his estate to " be confiscated [o]." - Then as to the second point, which was of greater delicacy, the nomination of a General to be fent against Dolabella, he procedes to give his reasons for rejecting the two opinions proposed; the one, for fending Servilius, the other, for the two Confuls - of the

the first, he fays, " that extraordinary com. A. Urb. 710: " missions ere always odious, where they were 19 not necessary : and where-ever they had been C. VIBIUS " granted, it was in cases very different from Pansa, " this --- that if the commission in debate A. HIRTIUS. " should be decreed to Servilius, it would feem " an affront to all the rest of the same rank, " that being equal in dignity, they should be " thought unworthy of the same honor -" that he himself indeed had voted an extraor-" dinary commission to young Cæsar; but "Cæsar had first given an extraordinary pro-" tection and deliverance to them: that they " must either have taken his army from him, " or decreed the command of it to him; which se could not therefore be fo properly faid to be " given, as not taken away: but that no fuch se commission had ever been granted to any one, " who was wholly idle and unemploy'd [p]. is as to the second opinion, of decreeing that Province to the Confuls, he shews it to be " both against the dignity of the Confuls them-" felves, and against the public service: that " when D. Brutus, a Conful elect, was actually belieged, on the preservation of whom their so common fafety depended; and when a dreadful war was on foot, already intrufted to the "two Confuls, the very mention of Afia and " Syria would give a handle to jealoufy and se envy; and tho the decree was not to take of place till D. Brutus, should first be relieved, 56 yet a new commission would necessarily take " off some part of their thoughts and attention " from the old. Then addressing himself to " Panfa, he fays, that tho' his mind, he knew,

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA,
A. HIRTIUS.

" was intent on delivering D. Brutus, yet the " nature of things would force him, to turn it " fometimes towards Dolabella; and that, if " he had more minds than one, they should all " be directed and wholly fixt on Modena [q]: " that for his own part, he had refigned in his " Confulship a rich and well furnished Province, " that nothing might interrupt his endeavours to " quench that flame, which was then raised in his " country: he wished that Pansa would imitate him, whom he used to commend; that if the " Confuls however defired to have provinces, as " other great men had usually done, let them " first bring D. Brutus safe home to them: who " ought to be guarded with the same care, as the " image that fell from Heaven, and was kept in " the temple of Vesta, in the safety of which "they were all fafe. That this decree would " create great delay and obstruction to the war " against Dolabella; which required a General or prepared, equipped, and already invested with " command: one, who had authority, reputa-"tion, an army, and a refolution tried in the " fervice of his country [r] — that it must " therefore either be Brutus or Cassius, or both " of them — that Brutus could not be spared " from Macedonia, where he was quelling the " last efforts of the faction; and oppressing "C. Antony, who, with the remains of a " broken army, was still in possession of some " considerable places: that when he had finish-" ed that work, if he found it of use to the "Commonwealth to pursue Dolabella, he " would do it of himself, as he had hitherto " done, without waiting for their orders: for

[q] Ibid. 9.

[r] Ibid. 10.

both he and Cassius had, on many occasions, A. Urb. 710.
been a Senate to themselves: that in such a Coss.
feason of general consusion, it was necessary C. VIBIUS
to be governed by the times, rather than by Pansa,
rules: that Brutus and Cassius ever held the A. HIRTIUS.

" fafety and liberty of their country, to be the " most facred rule of acting [s]. For by what " law, fays he, by what right have they hi-" therto been acting, the one in Greece, the o-" ther in Syria; but by that, which Jupiter " himself ordained, that all things beneficial to " the Community should be esteemed lawfull " and just? for law is nothing else but right " reason, derived to us from the Gods, injoining what is honest, prohibiting the contrary: " this was the law which Cassius obeyed, when " he went into Syria; another man's Province, " if we judge by written law; but when these " are overturned, his own, by the law of na-" ture - but that Cassius's acts might be " confirmed also by the authority of the Senate, " he proposed a decree to this effect; that " whereas the Senate has declared P. Dolabella " to be an enemy of the Roman people, and " ordered him to be purfued by open war; to " the intent, that he may fuffer the punishment due to him, both from Gods and men; it is " the will of the Senate, that C. Cassius, Pro-" conful, shall hold the Province of Syria, in " the fame manner, as if he had obtained it by " right of law: and that he receive the feveral " armies from Q. Marcius Crifpus, Proconful, L. Statius Murcus Proconful, A. Allienus " Lieutenant; which they are hereby required " to deliver to him: that with these, and what

Cio 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA SEA

A Urb. 710, " other forces he can procure, he shall pursue "Dolabella both by land and fea: that for the " occasions of the war, he shall have a power to demand ships, seamen, money, and all A HIBTHUS " things useful to him, from whomsoever he " thinks fit, in Syria, Afia, Bitkynia, Pontus: and that whatever Province he comes into in " profecuting the war, he shall have an autho-" rity superior to that of the proper Governor: that if King Deiotarus, the Father, or the " Son, shall affift C. Cassius, Proconful, with " their troops, as they have oft affifted the Ro-" man people in other wars, their conduct will " be acceptable to the Senate and People: that " if any of the other Kings, Tetrarchs and Po-" tentates shall do the like, the Senate and Peo-" ple will not be unmindfull of their fervices: " that as foon as the public affairs were fettled. " C. Panfa and A. Hirtius the Confuls, one or " both of them, should take the first opportu-" nity of moving the Senate about the disposal " of the Consular and Prætorian Provinces: " and that in the mean while, they should all " continue in the hands of those, who now held 55 them, till fuccessors were appointed by the

> "Senate [/]" will your ed tan , morni on From the Senate, Cicero went directly into the Forum, to give the people an account of the debate, and recommend to them the interests of Caffius: hither Pansa followed him, and to weaken the influence of his authority, declared to the Citizens, that what Cicero contended for: was against the will and advice of Cassius's nearest friends and relations of which Cicero gives the following account in a letter to Caffius.

M.

other.

A. Urb. 710. M. T. CICERO to C. CASSIUS. Cic. 64. "WITH what zeal I defended your digni- C. Visius ty, both in the Senate and with the People, PANSA, "I would have you learn rather from your A. HIRTIUS.

" other friends, than from me. My opinion " would early have prevailed in the Senate. " had not Pania eagerly opposed it. After I " had proposed that vote, I was produced to " the people by Servilius, the Tribun, and

" faid every thing, which I could of you, with a " ftrength of voice, that filled the Forum; " and with fuch a clamor and approbation of

" the people, that I had never feen the like before. You will pardon me, I hope, for do-

" ing it against the will of your mother in law. "The timorous woman was afraid, that Panfa

" would be disgusted. Pansa indeed declared " to the affembly, that both your mother and

" brother were against it; but that did not " move me, I had other confiderations more

" at heart: my regard was to the Republic, to " which I have always wished well, and to

" your dignity and glory. But there is one thing

" which I enlarged upon in the Senate, and " mentioned also to the people, in which I

" must desire you to make my words good:

" for I promised, and in a manner affured " them, that you neither had, nor would wait

" for our decrees; but would defend the Re-

" public yourfelf in your own way : and though " we had heard nothing, either where you

" were, or what forces you had; yet I took it

" for granted, that all the forces in those parts " were yours; and was confident, that you had

" already recovered the Province of Asia to the

"Republic: let it be your care to outdo your-

Cic. 64. Coff

C. VIBIUS PANSA,

A. Urb. 710. " felf, in endeavouring still to advance your " own glory. Adieu [u]."

As to the iffue of the contest, some writers tell us, that it ended as Cicero desired: but it A. HIRTIUS. is evident from the Letter, just recited, and more clearly still from other Letters, that Panfa's authority prevailed against him, for granting the commission to the Consuls [x]. Cassius however, as Cicero advised and declared, had little regard to what they were decreeing at Rome; but undertook the whole affair himself. and foon put an end to Dolabella's triumphs. as will be mentioned hereafter in it's proper place.

THE Statue of Minerva, which Cicero, upon his going into exil, had dedicated in the Capitol, by the title of the Guardian of the City, was, about the end of the last year, thrown down and shattered to pieces by a tempest of thunder and lightning. This the later writers take notice of, as ominous, and portending the fall of Cicero bimself: tho' neither Cicero, nor any of that time, made any fuch reflection upon it. The Senate however, out of respect to him, passed a decree in a full House, on the eighteenth of March, that the Statue should be repaired, and restored to its place [y]. So that it was now made by public authority, what he himself had designed it to be, a standing monument to posterity, that the fafety of the Republic had been the constant obiect of his counfils. Two moon of Manager of

D. BRUTUS

fores you had; veni took it

tineant, &c. Ep. fam. 12.14.

[[]u] Ep. fam. 12. 7.
[y] Eo die Senatus decre[x] Quum Consulibus decreta est Asia, & permissum
stos Urbis, quam turbo dejeest iis, ut dum ipsi venirent; cerat, restitueretur. Ep. fam. darentnegotium qui ipsam ob- 12. 25. Dio. 1. 45. p. 278.

Cic. 64.

D. BRUTUS was reduced by this time to fuch A. Urb. 710. straits in Modena, that his friends began to be greatly alarmed for him; taking it for granted, C. VIBIUS that if he fell into Antony's hands, he would be PANSA. treated no better than Trebonius. The mention A. HIRTIUS. therefore of a pacification being revived in the Senate, and recommended by Panfa himfelf, upon an intimation given by Antony's friends. that he was now in a disposition to submit to reason, Cicero, out of a concern for Brutus's fafety, consented to the decree of a fecond Embaffy, to be executed by himself and Servilius, together with three other Consular Senators: but finding upon recollection, that there appeared no fymproms of any change in Antony, and that his friends produced no proofs of it, nor any thing new in his conduct, he was convinced that he had made a false step, and that nothing more was intended than to gain time; which was of great use to Antony, as it would retard the attempts of relieving Modena, and give an opportunity to Ventidius to join him, who was marching towards him at that time with three Legions. At the next meeting therefore of the Senate, he retracted his opinion, and declared against the late decree, as dangerous and infidious; and in a warm and pathetic speech pressed them to rescind it. He owns, "that it was indecent for one, " whose authority they had so often followed in "the most important debates, to declare him-"" felf mistaken and deceived; yet his comfort was, that it was in common with them all, " and with a conful of the greatest wisdom: " that when Pifo and Calenus, who knew Antony's fecret, the one of whom entertained his wife and children at his house, the other " was perpetually fending and receiving Letters

Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIERTUS A. HERTIUS.

A. Urb. 710. " from him, began to renew, what they had " long intermitted, their exhortations to peace; " and when the conful thought fit to exhort the " fame thing, a man, whose prudence could " not eafily be imposed upon, whose virtue ap-" proved no peace, but on Antony's submis-" fion; whose greatness of mind preferred death " to flavery; it was natural to imagine, that " there was fome special reason for all this; " fome fecret wound in Antony's affairs, which " the public was unacquainted with: especially "when it was reported, that Antony's family " were under fome unusual affliction, and his " friends in the Senate betrayed a dejection in " their looks -- for if there was nothing in it, " why should Piso and Calenus, above all " others; why at that time; why fo unexpect-" edly, fo fuddenly move for peace? yet now, " when they had entangled the Senate in a pa-" cific Embaffy, they both denied, that there " was any thing new or particular, which in-"duced them to it [2]: that there could be " no occasion therefore for new measures, when there was nothing new in the case itself-"that they were drawn in, and deceived by " Antony's friends, who were serving his pri-" vate, not the public interest that he had " feen it from the first, tho' but darkly; his " concern for Brutus having dazzled his eyes; " for whose liberty, if a substitute could be "accepted, he would freely offer himself to be " fhut up in his place that if Antony would "humble himfelf, and fue to them for any "thing, he should perhaps be for hearing him; but while he stood to his arms, and acted

'Cic. 64.

" offensively, their business was to resist force A. Urb. 710. " by force but they would tell him per-" haps, that the thing was not in their power, c. Visius " fince an Embaffy was actually decreed. But PANSA, what is it, Tays he, that is not free to the A. HIRTIUS. "wife, which it is possible to retrieve? it is the " cafe of every man to err, but the part onely " of a fool to perfevere in error if we " have been drawn away by false and fallacious " hopes let us turn again into the way; for " the furest harbour to a penitent is a change " of his conduct [a]. He then fliews, how the "Embaffy, fo far from being of service, would certainly hurt, nay, had already hurt the Republic; by checking the zeal of the Towns and Colonies of Italy; and the courage of "the Legions, which had declared for them, " who could never be eager to fight, while the 46 Senate was founding a retreat [b]. That so nothing was more unjust, than to determine " any thing about peace, without the confent " of those who were carrying on the war; and "not onely without, but against their confent: " that Hirtius and Cælar had no thoughts of of peace; from whom he had letters then in his " hands, declaring their hopes of victory: for " their defire was to conquer, and to acquire peace, not by treaty, but by victory [c]-"That there could not possibly be any peace with one, to whom nothing could be granted ed: they had voted him to have forged feveral decrees of the Senate; would they vote "them again to be genuin? they had annulled " his laws, as made by violence; would they "mow confent to reftore them? they had deA. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

creed him to have embezzled five millions of " money; could fuch a wast be absolved from " a charge of fraud? that immunities, Priest-" hoods, Kingdoms, had been fold by him; " could those bargains be confirmed, which " their decrees had made void? [4] - That if " they should grant him the farther Gaul and " an army, what would it be else, but to defer " the war, not to make peace? nay, not onely " to prolong the war, but to yield him the vi-" ctory [e]. - Was it for this, fays he, that " we have put on the robe of war, taken arms, " fent out all the youth of Italy; that with a " most flourishing and numerous army we should " fend an Embaffy at last for peace? and must " I bear a part in that Embassy, or assist in that counfil, where, if I differ from the rest, the " people of Rome can never know it? fo that " whatever concessions are made to Antony, or " whatever mischief he may do hereaster, it " must be at the hazard of my credit." -He then shews, "that if an Embassy must needs " be fent, he, of all men, was the most impro-" per to be employed in it: that he had ever been " against any Embassy; was the mover of their " taking the habit of war; was always for the " feverest proceedings both against Antony and his affociates — that all that party looked " upon him as prejudiced; and Antony would " be offended at the fight of him [f].—That " if they did not trouble themselves, how An-" tony might take it, he begged them at least " to spare him the pain of seeing Antony; which " he should never be able to bear: who in a " speech lately to his parricides, when he was " diftributing

Cic. 64.

Coff.

distributing rewards to the boldest of them. A. Urb. 710. had promifed Cicero's estate to Petissius-" that he should never endure the fight of C. VIBIUS L. Antony: whose cruelty he could not have PANSA, " escaped, but by the defence of his walls and A. HIRTIUS. se gates, and the zeal of his native Town: that tho' he might be able to command himself, " and diffemble his uneafiness at the fight of " Antony and his crew, yet some regard should " be had to his life; not that he fet any value " upon it himfelf, but it ought not to be thought "despicable by the Senate and People of Rome: " fince, if he did not deceive himself, it was 66 he, who by his watchings, cares and votes, had managed matters fo, that all the attempts of their enemies had not hitherto been able to do them any harm [g]. - That if his life " had been oft attempted at home, where the " fidelity of his friends, and the eyes of all " Rome were his guard; what might he not " apprehend from fo long a journey? that there " were three roads from Rome to Modena; the " Flaminian along the upper sea; the Aurelian " along the lower; the Caffian in the middle-" that they were all of them befet by Antony's es allies, his own utter enemies: the Cassian by " Lento; the Flaminian by Ventidius; the Au-" relian by the whole Clodian family [b]. * That he would ftay therefore in the City, if " the Senate would give leave, which was his so proper feat, his watch and station: that " others might enjoy camps, Kingdoms, mili-"tary commands; he would take care of the "City, and the affairs at home, in partnership with them; that he did not refuse the charge; Vor III. but

Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

A. Urb. 710. " but it was the people, who refused it for him: " for no man was less rimorous, tho' none more cautious than he -- that a statesman ought " to leave behind him a reputation of glory in " dying; not the reproach of error and folly: " who, fays he, does not bewail the death of "Trebonius? yet there are some who say, tho " it is hard indeed to fay it, that he is the less " to be pitied, for not keeping a better guard, " against a base and detestable willain: for wise " men tell us, that he who professes to guard "the lives of lothers, ought in the first place " to keep a guard upon his own [i]. - That " if he should happen to escape all the snares " of the road, that Antony's rage was fo fu-" rious, that he would never fuffer him to re-" turn alive from the congress - that when "he was a young voluntier in the wars of Italy, " he was present at a conference of Cn. Pom-" pey the Conful, and P. Vettius the General " of the Marfi, held between the two Camps: " there was no fear, no suspicion, nor any vio-" lent hatted on either fide ___ that there was " an interview likewise between Sylla and Sci-" pio, in their civil wars, where tho' faith was " not firictly observed, yet no violence was " offered [k] --- but the case was different in " treating with Antony, where, if others could " be fafe, he at least could not: that Antony " would never come into their camp; much lefs " they into his ___ that if they transacted affairs " by Letter, his opinion would always be one " and the fame; to reduce every thing to the " will of the Senate: that this would be mifre-" prefented to the Veterans, as severe and per-"werfe :

verse; and might excite them perhaps to A. Urb. 710.

fome violence——let my life therefore, says

he, be reserved to the service of my country, C. Vibius
as long as either dignity or nature will allow: Pansa,

let my death fall by the necessary course of A. Hirtius.

"fate; or if I must meet it sooner, let me meet it with glory —— Since the Republic then, to speak the most moderately, has no occafron for this Embassy; yet if I can undertake

" fron for this Embally; yet if I can undertake it with fafery, I will go; and in this whole affair will govern myself intirely, Fathers,

not by a regard to my own danger, but to

" mature deliberation, will refolve to do that which I shall judge to be most useful to the

" public Interest."

Tho' he did not absolutely refuse the employment, yet he dissuaded it so strongly, that the thing was wholly dropt; and Pansa, about the end of the month, marched away towards Gaul, at the head of his new raised army, in order to join Hirtius and Octavius, and without farther delay, to attempt a decisive battel with

Antony for the delivery of D. Brutus.

perplexing the counfils of the Senate, by the intrigues of his friends, was endeavouring also by his Letters to shake the resolution of Hirtius and Octavius, and draw them off from the cause which they were now serving: but their answers seem to have been short and firm; referring him constantly to the authority of the Senate: yet as things were now drawing towards a criss, he made one effort more upon them; and in the following expostulatory Letter reproached them with great freedom, for deserting their true interest, and suffering them—

M 2

Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

A. Urb. 710. felves to be duped, and drawn in by Cicero, to revive the Pompeian cause, and establish a power, which in the end would deftroy them.

Antonius to Hirtius and Cæfar.

"Upon the news of Trebonius's death, I was " equally affected both with joy and with grief. " It was matter of real joy to me, to see a vil-" lain fuffer the vengeance due to the ashes of the most illustrious of men; and that within " the circle of the current year, the divine pro-" vidence has displayed itself, by the punish-" ment of parricide, inflicted already on some, " and ready to fall upon the rest. But on the " other hand, it is a subject of just grief to me, that Dolabella should be declared an enemy; " because he has killed a murtherer; and that " the fon of a Buffoon should be dearer to the people of Rome, than Cæsar, the Father of his country: but the cruellest reflection of all is, that you, Hirtius, covered with Cæsar's favors, and left by him in a condition, which you yourself wonder at; and you too, young man, who owe every thing to his name, are doing all which is in your power, that Dola-" bella may be thought justly condemned; that " this wretch be delivered from the fiege; and Caffius and Brutus be invefted with all power. "You look upon the present state of things as people did upon the past; call Pompey's camp the Senate; have made the vanquished " Cicero your Captain; are strengthening Macedonia with armies; have given Africa to " Varus, twice a prisoner; have sent Cassius " into Syria; suffered Casca to act as Tribun; " fuppressed the revenues of the Julian Luperci; abolished the colonies of Veterans, established felves

by law, and the decree of the Senate; pro- A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. mise to restore to the people of Marseilles, " what was taken from them by right of war; C. VIBIUS " forget that a Pompeian was made incapable of PANSA, " any dignity by Hirtius's law; have supplied A. HIRTIUS. "Brutus with Appuleius's money; applauded the putting to death Poetus and Menedemus, "Cæsar's friends, whom he made free of the "City; took no notice of Theopompus, when " ftript and banished by Trebonius, he fled to "Alexandria: you fee Ser. Galba in your Camp, " armed with the same poignard with which he " stabbed Cæsar; have enlisted my soldiers, " and other Veterans, on pretence of destroying "those who killed Cæsar; and then employ " them, before they know what they are doing, " against their Quæstor, or their General, or " their Comrades - what have you not done, " which Pompey himself, were he alive, or his " fon, if he could, would not do? in short, " you deny that any peace can be made, unless " I fet Brutus at liberty, or fupply him with or provisions: can this please those Veterans, " who have not yet declared themselves? for as " to your part, you have fold yourselves to the "flatteries and poisoned honors of the Senate. But you come, you fay, to preserve the troops " which are belieged. I am not against their " being faved, or going where-ever you please, " if they will but leave him to perish who has "deserved it. You write me word, that the "mention of concord has been revived in the "Senate, and five Consular Embassadors ap-" pointed: it is hard to believe, that those who 's have driven me to this extremity, when I of-"fered the fairest conditions, and was willing to remit some part of them, should do any M 3

Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS

PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

A. Urb. 710. " thing with moderation or humanity: nor is " it probable, that the same men, who voted " Dolabella an enemy for a most laudable act,

" can ever forgive me, who am in the same fentiments with him. Wherefore it is your business to reflect, which of the two is the more eligible, or more useful to our common

interest; to revenge the death of Trebonius, or of Cæfar: and which the more equitable;

for us to act against each other, that the Pompeian cause, so often deseated, may recover itself; or to join our forces, left we become

at last the sport of our enemies; who, which of us foever may happen to fall, are fure to

be the gainers, But fortune has hitherto prevented that spectacle; unwilling to see two armies, like members of the fame body, fight-

ing against each other; and Cicero all the while, like a mafter of Gladiators, matching

us, and ordering the Combat: who is fo far happy, as to have caught you with the same " bait, with which he brags to have caught

Cæfar. For my part, I am resolved to suffer no affront, either to myself, or my friends;

nor to defert the party which Pompey hated; nor to fee the Veterans driven out of their

possessions, and dragged one by one to the rack; nor to break my word with Dolabella;

nor to violate my league with Lepidus, a most religious man; nor to betray Plancus,

the partner of all my counfils. If the immortal Gods support me, as I hope they will, in

the pursuit of so good a cause, I shall live " with pleasure; but if any other fate expects

" me, I tast a joy however before hand, in the

" fure forelight of your punishment: for if the Pompeians are so insolent when conquered,

" how

44 how much more they will be so when Con- A. Urb. 710.
45 querors, it will be your lot to seel. In a word,
46 Cost.
47 this is the summ of my resolution: I can for- C. VIBIUS

" give the injuries of my friends, if they them- PANSA, felves are disposed, either to forget them, or A. HIRTIUS.

or prepared in conjunction with me, to revenge

"the death of Cælar: I cannot believe that any Embassadors will come; when they do, I

" shall know what they have to demand [1]."
Hirtius and Cæsar, instead of answering this
Letter, sent it directly to Cicero at Rome, to
make what use of it he thought sit with the Se-

nate or the people.

In this interval Lepidus wrote a public Letter to the Senate, to exhort them to measures of peace, and to fave the effusion of civil blood, by contriving some way of reconciling Antony and his friends to the service of their country; without giving the least intimation of his thanks for the public bonors, which they had lately decreed to him. This was not at all agreeable to the Senate, and confirmed their former jealousy of his difaffection to the Republic, and good understanding with Antony. They agreed however to a vote proposed by Servilius, "that "Lepidus should be thanked for his love of " peace, and care of the Citizens, yet should " be defired not to trouble himself any farther " about it, but to leave that affair to them; " who thought, that there could be no peace, " unless Antony should lay down his arms, and " fue for it." This Letter gave Antony's friends a fresh handle to renew their instances for a treaty, for the fake of obliging Lepidus, who had it in his power, they faid, to force them to it : which M 4

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA, AMA

put Cicero once more to the trouble of confuting and exposing all their arguments. He told them, " that he was ever afraid from the first, lest an " infidious offer of peace should damp the com-A. HIRTIUS. " mon zeal, for the recovery of their liberty: " that whoever delighted in difcord, and the " blood of Citizens, ought to be expelled from " the fociety of human kind: yet it was to be confidered, whether there were not fome wars " wholly inexpiable; where no peace could be " made, and where a treaty of peace was but a " stipulation of slavery [m]: that the war now on foot was of this fort; undertaken against " a fet of men who were natural enemies to fo-" ciety; whose onely pleasure it was to oppress. plunder, and murther their fellow-creatures: and to restore such to the City, was to destroy " the City itself [n]. — That they ought to " remember what decrees they had already made " against them; fuch as had never been made against a foreign enemy, or any, with whom "there could be peace—that fince wisdom. " as well as fortitude, was expected from men of their rank, tho' these indeed could hardly be feparated, yet he was willing to confider " them separately, and follow what wisdom the " more cautious and guarded of the two pre-" scribed .- If wisdom then, says he, should " command me to hold nothing fo dear as life; to decree nothing at the hazard of my head; " to avoid all danger, tho' flavery was fure to " be the consequence; I would reject that wis-"dom, be it ever so learned: but if it teaches " us to preferve our lives, our fortunes, our fa-" milies, yet so, as to think them inferior to li-" berty; 700

berty; to wish to enjoy them no longer than A. Urb. 710. we can do it in a free Republic; not to part " with our liberty for them, but to throw them C. VIBIUS all away for liberty, as exposing us onely to PANSA, greater mischief without it; I would them li- A. HIRTIUS. " ften to her voice, and obey her as a God [0]. "That no man had a greater respect for Lepi-"dus than himself; and tho' there had been an " old friendship between them, yet he valued him, not so much for that, as his services to " the public, in prevailing with young Pom-" pey to lay down his arms, and free his coun-"try from the misery of a cruel war: that the "Republic had many pledges of fidelity from "Lepidus; his great nobility; great honors; " High Priesthood; many parts of the City " adorned by him and his Ancestors; his wife, " children, great fortunes, pure from any taint " of civil blood; no Citizen ever hurt, many " preserved by him: that such a man might err " in judgment, but could never wilfully be an " enemy to his country. - That his defire of peace was laudable, if he could make such a peace for them now, as when he restored Pompey to them.—That for this they had "decreed him greater honors, than had been " given before to any man, a statue with a splen-"did inscription, and a triumph even in ab-" fence [p]. — That by good fortune they had " managed matters fo, that Pompey's return " might confift with the validity of Cæfar's acts, "which, for the fake of peace, they had con-"firmed; fince they had decreed to Pompey "the five millions and half, which was raifed "by the fale of his estates, to enable him to buy " them

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coff. C. Vibius Pansa, A. Histius,

"them again: he defired, that the task of reof placing him in the possessions of his Ancestors, " might be committed to him for his old friend-" ship with his Father: that it should be his first care to nominate him an Augur, and repay the same favour to the Son, which he him-" felf received from the Father [9]: that those " who had feen him lately at Marfeilles, brought " word, that he was ready to come with his " troops to the relief of Modena, but that he was afraid of giving offence to the Veterans: " which shewed him to be the true Son of that " Father, who used to act with as much pru-"dence as courage. That it was Lepidus's " business to take care, not to be thought to act " with more arrogance than became him: that if he meant to frighten them with his army, " he should remember, that it was the army of " the Senate and People of Rome, not his own " [r]. That if he interposed his authority without arms, that was indeed the more laudable, but would hardly be thought necessa-" ry. - For tho' his authority was as great with them, as that of the noblest Citizen ought to be, yet the Senare was not unmindful of their own dignity; and there never was a graver, firmer, stouter Senate, than the present. " - That they were all so incensed against " the enemies of their liberty, that no man's " authority could repress their ardor, or extort their arms from them. - That they hoped the best, but would rather suffer the worst, " than live flaves [s]. - That there was no "danger to be apprehended from Lepidus, fince he could not enjoy the splendor of his own " fortunes. modi

fortunes, but with the fafety of all honest men. A. Urb. 710.

That nature first makes men honest, but Cic. 64.

fortune confirms them: for the it was the C. VIBIUS

common interest of all to promote the fasety PANSA,

so of the public vet it was more particularly of A. HIRTIUS.

of the public, yet it was more particularly of A. HIRTIUS. those who were happy in their fortunes.-"That no body was more fo than Lepidus, and " no body therefore better disposed: of which of the people faw a remarkable instance, in the " concern which he expressed, when Antony " officed a diadem to Cæfar, and chose to be is his flave, rather than his Collegue: for which " fingle act, if he had been guilty of nothing s elfe, he had richly deserved the worst punish-" ment [1]."-Then after inveighing, as ufual, against Antony thro' feveral pages, he declared all thoughts of peace with him to be vain, and for a fresh proof of it produced his last Letter to Hirtius and Octavius, and read it publicly to the affembly: not that he thought it worth. reading, he fays, but to let them fee his traiterous views openly avowed and confessed by himself. He read it to them paragraph by paragraph, with his own comment and remarks upon it; rallying all along with great wit and fpirit, "the rage, the extravagance, the inconfiftency, the folly, " and the inaccuracy of each fentence." On the whole, he fays, "that if Lepidus had feen it. "he would neither have advised, or thought " any peace with him possible. That fire " and water would fooner unite, than the An-"tony's be reconciled to the Republic .- That " the first and best thing therefore was, to con-" quer; the second, to decline no danger for

" and your own dignity; but if the effect of .c

Cic. 64. C. VIBIUS PANSA.

A. Urb. 710. " no third thing, but the last and worst of all, " to submit to the utmost baseness, thro' a de-" fire of living. - For which reasons he decla-" red his concurrence with Servilius, in the vote A. HIRTIUS. " upon Lepidus's Letters; and proposed an ad-"ditional decree, either to be joined to the

" other, or published separately. - That Pom-" pey the Great, the fon of Cnæus, in offering

"his fervice and his troops to the Senate and "People of Rome, had acted agreeably to the " courage and zeal of his Father and Ancestors;"

" and to his own virtue, industry, and good "disposition to the Republic: and that the

"thing was grateful and acceptable to the Se-" nate and People, and would hereafter be an

"honor to himfelf." "only morn A flaines like

AFTER the debate, which ended as Cicero wished, he sent the following short Letter to Lepidus, which, by the coldness and negligence with which it is drawn, feems to be defigned to: let Lepidus see, that they were perfectly easy and secure at Rome, whatever measures he might think fit to take, and distinguish made or it been

as own comment and remarks upon it; callying CICERO to LEPIDUS.

"WHILE out of the great respect which I 6 bear to you, I am making it my particular " care, to advance your dignity as much as pof-" fible, it was a concern to me to fee, that you "did not think it worth while to return your thanks to the Senate, for the extraordinary "honors, which they have lately conferred up-"on you. I rejoice however, that you are fo " defirous of making peace among Citizens: if " you can separate that peace from flavery, you 's will consult both the good of the Republic, " and your own dignity: but if the effect of it

be, to restore a desperate man to an arbitrary A. Urb. 710. Gic. 64. Coff.

" all men of fense have taken a resolution, to C. VIBIUS prefer death to servitude. You will act more PANSA,

"wifely therefore in my judgement, if you A. HIRTIUS."

" meddle no farther with that affair of peace: which is not agreeable either to the Senate,

" or the People, or to any honest man: but

"you will hear enough of this from others, or

" be informed of it by Letters; and will be di-"rected by your own prudence, what is the best

" for you to do [u]."

PLANCUS too, who commanded in Gaul, and now refided near Lyons, at the Head of a brave army, enforced Lepidus's advice, by a Letter likewise to the Senate on the same subject of peace; to which Cicero wrote the following answer:

CICERO to PLANCUS.

"The account which our friend Furnius brought of your affection to the Republic, was highly agreeable both to the Senate and People of Rome: but your Letter, when read in the Senate, did not feem to agree with Furnius's report: for you advised us to peace, when your Collegue, a man of the greatest eminence, was besieged by most infamous Plunderers; who ought either to sue for peace, by laying down their arms, or if they demand it with sword in hand, it must be procured by victory, not treaty. But in what manner your Letters, as well as Lepidus's also, were received, you will understand from that

A. Urb. 710. " that excellent man your brother, and from Cie. 64. " Furnius, &c. [x] " | 1000

C. VIBIUS PANSA. ZA

C. ANTONY, whom we mentioned above, to have retreated with feven Goborts to Apollonia, A. Hearing not daring to wait for Brutus's arrival, who was now advancing towards him, marched out to Butbretum, to feek his fortune elsewhere, in quarters more secure and remote: but being overtaken and attacked on his march by a part of Brutus's army, he lost three of his Cohorts in the action; and in a second engagement with another body of troops, which young Cicero commanded, was intirely routed and taken prisoner: which made Brutus absolute Master of the Country, without any farther opposition [7]. This fresh success gave occasion for a second Letter from Brutus to the Senate; of which Cicero makes the following mention; "Your Letter. " favs he, which was read in the Senate, shews " the Counfil of the General, the virtue of your " foldiers, the industry of your officers, and in " particular of my Cicero. If your friends had " been willing to move the Senate upon it; and " if it had not fallen into most turbulent times. " fince the departure of Panfa, some just and " proper honor would have been decreed for it "to the Gods [2],"

" perceptor leving down chair arms, or if they

ensinence, was befored by moft infamous en Tendercia to who cochtocitherato the for

[r] Ibid. 6. [2] Tue littere, quesin bulentifimum post discession matu recitate funt, & Imperatoris confilium & militum virtutem, & industriam mortalibus decretus esset. Ad tuorum, in quibus Ciceronis Brut. 2. 7. mei declarant. Quodifi tuis

placuisset de his litteris referri, & nili in tempus tur-Panfaineidiffent, honosquoque justus ac debitus Diis imTHE taking C. Antony prisoner put Brutus A. Urb. 710. under some difficulty in what manner he should treat him : if he fet him at liberty, to which he C. VIBIUS was inclined, he had reason to apprehend fresh PANSA, trouble from him, both to himself and the Re- A. HIRTIUS. public: if he kept him prisoner in his camp, he was afraid, left some sedition might be raised on his account and by his intrigues, in his own army; or if he put him to death, that it would be thought an act of cruelty, which his nature abhorred. He confulred Cicero therefore upon it by Letter - "C. Antony, fays he, is itill " with me : but in truth, I am moved with the prayers of the man; and afraid, left the " madness of fome should make him the occa-" fion of mischief to me. I am wholly at a " lofs what to do with him. If I knew your " mind, I should be at case: for I should think " that the best, which you advised [a]." Cicero's advice was, to keep bim under a fafe guard, till they knew the fate of D. Brutus in Modena [6]. Brutus however treated him with great lenity, and feemed much disposed to give him his liberty: for which purpose he not onely wrote to the Senate about it himself, but permitted Antony to write too, and with the stile of Proconful; which surprized and shocked all his friends at Rome, and especially Cicero, who expostulates with him for it in the following

Cic. 64. Coff.

[a] Antonius adhuc est nobifcum : fed medius fidius & fuafum effet mihi. Ad Brut. moveor hominis precibus, & timeo ne illum aliquorum furor excipiat. Plane æstuo. Qued si scirem quid tibi placeret, fine follicitudine essem.

be formed a and in thost, convince

Id enim optimum effe per-

2.5. [6] Quad me de Antanio consulis; quoad Bruti exitum cognorimus, custodiendum puto. Ib. 4.

The HISTORY of the Life

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA,
A. HIRTIUS.

"On the thirteenth of April, fays he, your messenger Pilus brought us two Letters, the one in your name, the other in Antony's : and gave them to Servilius the Tribun; he to Cornutus the Prætor. They were read in the Senate. Antony Proconful, raised as much wonder as if it had been, Dolabella Emperor; from whom also there came an express; but no body, like your Pilus, was fo hardy, as to produce the Letters, or deliver them to the Magistrates. Your Letter was read; short indeed, but extremely mild towards Antony: the Senate was amazed at it. For my part, I did not know how to act. Should I affirm it to be forged? ---What if you should own it? Should I admit it to be genuin? that was not for your honor. "I chose therefore to be silent that day. On the next, when the affair had made some noise. " and Pilus's carriage had given offence, I began the debate, faid much of Proconful An-" tony; Sextius performed his part, and obse ferved to me afterwards in private, what danger his fon and mine would be liable to, if they had really taken up arms against a Proconful. You know the man; he did justice " to the cause. Others also spoke; but our friend Labeo took notice, that your feal was not put to the Letter; nor any date added; nor had you written about it, as usual, to "your friends; from which he maintained the Letter to be forged; and in short, convinced " the House of it. It is now your part, Brutus, to confider the whole state and nature of " the war: you are delighted, I perceive, with " lenity; and think it the best way of proceding: this indeed is generally right; but edt Me follicitudine ellem. paro. Ib 4.

"the proper place of clemency is, in cases and A. Urb. 7 to. " feasons very different from the present: for what are we doing now, Brutus? we fee a C. VIBIUS needy and desperate crew threatening the very PANSA, "Temples of the Gods; and that the war must A. Histius. " necessarily decide, whether we are to live or not. Who is it then, whom we are sparing? or what is it, that we mean? are we confulting the fafety of those, who, if they get the better, are fure not to leave the least remains of us? for what difference is there between "Dolabella and any one of the three Antony's? if " we spare any of these, we have been too severe to Dolabella. It was owing chiefly to my advice and authority, that the Senate and "People are in this way of thinking, though " the thing itself indeed also obliged them to it: " if you do not approve this policy, I shall de-" fend your opinion, but cannot depart from

my own: the world expects from you nothing either remiss or cruel: it is easy to mo-

" derate the matter, by feverity to the Leaders, generofity to the foldiers [c]."

CICERO had now done every thing, that human prudence could do towards the recovery of the Republic: for all that vigor, with which it was making this last effort for itself, was intirely owing to his counfils and authority. As Antony was the most immediate and desperate enemy, who threatened it, so he had armed against him the whole strength of Italy, and raised up a force sufficient to oppress him. Young Octavius, next to Antony, was the most formidable to the friends of liberty; but from the contrast of their personal interests, and their

Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS.

A. Urb. 710. jealoufy of each other's views, Cicero managed the opportunity, to employ the one to the ruin of the other; yet fo, as to provide at the fame time against any present danger from Octavius, by throwing a superiority of power into the hands of the Confuls; whom, from being the late Ministers of Cæsar's Tyranny, he had gained over to the interests of liberty. But besides the difficulties, which he had to ftruggle with at home, in bringing matters to this point, he had greater discouragements abroad, from the Commanders of the feveral Provinces: they were all promoted to those governments by Cæfar, the proper Creatures of his power, and the abettors of his Tyranny [d]; and were now full of hopes, either of advancing themselves to dominion, or to a share of it at least, by espousing the cause of some more powerfull pretender. Men of this turn, at the head of great and veteran armies, could not eafily be perfuaded to fubmit to a Senate, which they had been taught to despise, or to reduce the military power, which had long governed all, to a dependance on the Civil. Yet Cicero omitted no pains of exhorting them by Letters, and inviting them by honors to prefer the glory of faving their Country, to all other views whatfoever. Those, whom he most distrusted, and for that reason most particularly pressed, were Lepidus, Pollio, and Plancus: who by the strength of their armies, and their possession of Gaul and Spain, were the best qualified to serve or to distress the Republican cause. He had little hopes of the two first; yet managed them so well, by reprefenting

[[]d] Vides Tyranni Satel- dem exercitus in latere vete-lites in Imperiis: vides ejuf- ranos. Ad Att. 14. 5.

fenting the strength of the honest party, the A. Urb. 710. unanimity of the Senate, of the Confuls, and all Italy, that he forced them at least to diffemble C. VIBIUS their disaffection, and make great professions of PANSA, their duty; and above all, to stand neuter till A. HIRTIUS. the affairs of Italy were decided; on which the fate of the Republic seemed chiefly to depend. Nay, he feems to have drawn Plancus intirely into his measures: as appears from his account of him to Brutus [e], and from Plancus's own Letters, in which he gives the strongest assurances of his fidelity, and offers to lead his troops to the relief of Modena; and was actually upon his march towards it, when he heard upon the road of Antony's defeat, - Not long before which, Cicero fent him the following Letter,

Cic. 64.

CICERO to PLANCUS.

"THOUGH I understood from the account of " our friend Furnius, what your defign and re-" folution was, with regard to the Republic; " yet after reading your Letters I was able to " form a clearer judgement of your whole pur-" pose. Wherefore, though the fate of the "Commonwealth depends wholly on one bat-" tel, which will be decided, I believe, when " you are reading this Letter, yet you have ac-" quired great applause, by the very same, " which was every where spread, of your good " intentions: and if there had been a Conful at " Rome, the Senate, by decreeing fome confi-"derable honor to you, would have declared, " how acceptable your endeavours and prepara-

[e] Planci animum in Rem- jus, quarum exemplum tibi pub. egregium, legiones, missum arbitror, perspicere auxilia, copias ex litteris e- potuisti. Ad Brut. 2. 2, A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA,
A. HIRTIUS.

tions were. But that time is not onely not yet past; but was not in my judgement even ripe: for after all, that alone passes with me for honor, which is conferred on great men, not for the hopes of future, but the experience of past services. If then there be any Republic, in which honor can have it's proper luster, take my word for it, you shall have your share of the greatest: though that, which can truly be called honor, is not an in-" vitation to a temporary, but the reward of an habitual virtue. Wherefore, my dear Plan-" cus, turn your whole thoughts towards glo-" ry: help your Country; fly to the relief of " your Collegue; support this wonderfull con-" fent, and concurrence of all nations: you will " ever find me the promoter of your counfils, " the favourer of your dignity, and on all occa-" fions most friendly and faithfull to you: for " to all the other motives of our union; our " mutual affection; good offices; old acquaint-" ance; the love of our Country, which is now " added, makes me prefer your life to my own. " Mar. 29th [f]."

PLANCUS in the mean time fent a fecond Letter to the Senate, to affure them of his zeal and resolution to adhere to them; and to acquaint them with the steps, which he had already taken for their service: upon which they decreed him some extraordinary honors, at the motion of Cicero, who sent him the following account of it.

CICERO to PLANCUS.

"Though out of regard to the Republic, my greatest joy ought to be, for your bring"ing

ing fuch relief and help to it, in a time al- A. Urb. 710. " most of extremity; yet may I so embrace you after victory and the recovery of our liberty, C. VIBIUS " as it is your dignity, that gives me the chief PANSA, " part of my pleasure; which already is, and A. HIRTIUS. " ever will be, I perceive, as great as possible. " For I would not have you think, that any " Letters were ever read in the Senate of greater " weight than yours; both for the eminent me-" rit of your fervices, and the gravity of your " words and fentiments: which was not at all " new to me, who was fo well acquainted with " you, and remembered the promifes of your "Letters to me; and understood the whole pur-" pose of your counsils from our Furnius: but "they appeared greater to the Senate, than was " expected; not that they ever had any doubt " of your inclinations; but did not fully under-" fland, how much you were able to do, or " how far you would expose yourself in the " cause. When M. Varisidius therefore brought me your Letters very early, on the seventh " of April, I was transported with joy upon " reading them; and as a great multitude of " excellent Citizens were then waiting to attend " my going abroad, I instantly gave them all " a part of my pleasure. In the mean while " our friend Munatius, according to custom, " came to join me: I presently shewed him " your Letter, of which he knew nothing be-" fore; for Varifidius came first to me, as you, " he faid, had ordered him: foon after, the " fame Munatius returned to me with the other "two Letters; that, which you had fent to "him, and that, to the Senate: we refolved " to carry the last directly to the Prætor Cor-" nutus; who, by the cultom of our ancestors, " fupplies N 3

Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS A. HIRTIUS.

A. Utb. 710. " supplies the place of the Consuls in their ab-" fence. The Senate was immediately called; " and, upon the fame and expectation of your " Letters, made up a full House. After they " were read, a scruple of religion was objected " to Cornutus, from the report of the Guardi-" ans of the Chickens; that he had not duly " confulted the auspices; which was confirmed " likewise by our College: so that the affair was adjourned to the next day. On that day "I had a great contest about your dignity with " Servilius, who procured by his interest, to " have his opinion declared the first: but the " Senate left him, and all went the contrary way: but when they were coming into my " opinion, which was delivered the fecond; " the Tribun Titius, at his request, interposed "his negative; and fo the debate was put off " again to the day following. Servilius came " prepared to support his opposition, though " against Jupiter himself, in whose Temple the " thing passed: in what manner I handled him, " and what a struggle I had to throw off Titi-" us's negative, I would have you learn rather " from other people's Letters; take this how-" ever from mine; that the Senate could not " possibly act with more gravity, firmness, and " regard to your honor, than it did on this oc-" casion; nor is the Senate more friendly to you, than the whole City: for the body of " the people, and all ranks and orders of men " are wonderfully united in the defence of the Republic. Go on therefore, as you have begun, and recommend your name to immortality: and for all these things, which, from " the vain badges of outward fplendor, carry a " fhew of glory, despise them; look upon

them, as trifling, transitory, perishing. A. Urb. 710. "True honor is placed fingly in virtue; which is illustrated with most advantage by great C. VIBIUS " fervices to our Country. You have the best PANSA, " opportunity for this in the world; which A. HIRTIUS.

" fince you have embraced, persevere, and go " through with it; that the Republic may not " owe less to you, than you to the Republic: " you will find me, not onely the favorer, but "the advancer of your dignity: this I take my-

" felf to owe, both to the Republic, which is " dearer to me than my life, and to our friend-

" ship, &c. April the eleventh [g]."

PLANCUS answered him not long after to the following effect.

PLANCUS to CICERO.

"IT is a pleasure to me to reflect, that I " have never promised any thing rashly of my-" felf to you; nor you, for me to others. In "this you have the clearer proof of my love, " that I defire to make you acquainted with my " designs before any man else. You already " fee, I hope, that my fervices to the public " will grow greater every day: I promise, that " you shall soon be convinced of it. As for " me, my dear Cicero, may the Republic be " fo delivered by my help from it's present "dangers, as I efteem your honors and rewards " equal to an immortality; yet were I still " without them, I would remit nothing of my " present zeal and perseverance. If in the mul-" titude of excellent Citizens, I do not diftin-" guish myself by a singular vigor and industry, I defire no accession to my dignity from your A. Urb. 710.
Cic, 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA,
A. HIRTIUS.

"favor: but in truth, I desire nothing at all for myself at present; nay am even against it; and willingly make you the arbiter both of the time and the thing itself: a Citizen can think nothing late or little, which is given by his country. I passed the Rhone with my army by great journeys, on the 26th of April; sent a thousand horse before me by a shorter way from Vienna. As for myself, if I am not hindered by Lepidus, none shall complain of my want of expedition: if he opposes me on my road, I shall take my measures form the occasion: the troops, which I shring, are for number, kind, and sidelity,

" extremely firm. I beg the continuance of your affection, as long as you find yourself

" affured of mine. Adieu [b]."

Pollio likewise, who now commanded the farther Spain with three good Legions, though he was Antony's particular friend, yet made the strongest professions to Cicero of his resolution, to defend the Republic against all Invaders. In one of his Letters, after excusing himself, for not having written earlier and oftener, he fays, " both my nature and studies draw me to the " defire of peace and liberty: for which reason " I always lamented the occasion of the late " war: but as it was not possible for me to be " of no party, because I had great enemies eve-" ry where, I ran from that camp, where I " could not be safe from the treachery of an e-" nemy; and being driven whither I least de-" fired, freely exposed myself to dangers, that " I might not make a contemptible figure a-" mong those of my rank. As for Cæsar him-" felf. felf, I loved him with the utmost piety and A. Urb. 719. Cic. 64. " fidelity, because he treated me on the foot of " his oldest friends, though known to him one- C. VIBIUS " ly in the heigth of his fortunes. When I PANSA, .. " was at liberty to act after my own mind, I A. HIBTIUS. acted fo, that the best men should most ap-" plaud me: what I was commanded to do, I " did so, as to shew, that it was done by com-" mand, and not by inclination. The unjust " odium, which I suffered on that account, has " fufficiently convinced me, how fweet a thing " liberty is, and how wretched is life under the "dominion of another. If the contest then be, " to bring us all again under the power of one; " whoever that one be, I profess myself his ene-" my: nor is there any danger, which I would " decline, or wish to avoid, for the sake of liber-" ty. But the Confuls have not, either by de-" cree or Letters, given me any orders what " to do: I have had but one Letter from Pan-" fa, fince the Ides of March; in which he ex-" horts me, to fignify to the Senate, that I and " my army would be in their power: but when " Lepidus was declaring openly to his army, " and writing to every body, that he was in " the same sentiments with Antony, that step " would have been wholly abfurd and improper " for me: for how could I get forage for my " troops against his will, in marching through " his Province? or if I had furmounted all o-" ther difficulties, could I fly over the Alps, " which were possessed by his garrisons? ---" No body will deny, that I declared publicly " to my foldiers at Corduba, that I would not " deliver the Province to any man, unless he " were commissioned by the Senate-where-" fore you are to look upon me, as one, who,

Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA,

A. Urb. 710. " in the first place, am extremely desirous of of peace, and the fafety of all the Citizens; in " the fecond, prepared to affert my own and " my country's liberty. I am more pleased, A. HIRTIUS. " than you can imagine, that my friend Gallus is fo dear to you: I envy him for walking, " and joking with you: you will ask perhaps, at what rate I value that privilege: you shall "know by experience, if ever it be in our power to live in quiet: for I will never stir " one step from you. I am surprized, that " you never fignified in your Letters, how I " should be able to do the most service, by staying in the Province, or bringing my army " into Italy. For my part, though to stay be " more fafe, and less troublesome; yet since I " fee, that in fuch a time as this, there is more want of Legions, than of Provinces, which may easily be recovered, I am resolved as

" things now fland, to come away with my " army -- from Corduba the fifteenth of

" March [i]."

THERE are several Letters also still extant. written at this time from Cicero to Cornificius. who governed Afric; exhorting him in the same manner to firmness in the defence of the Republic, and to guard his Province from all Invaders, who should attempt to extort it from him: and this man, after all, was the onely Commander, who kept his word with him, and performed his part to his Country; and loft his life at last in maintaining that Province in it's allegiance to the Republic [k].

or chara your or-

[[]i] Ep. fam. x. 31. &c. App. 1. 4. 621. Die, [k] Vid. Ep. fam. 12. 24. 1. 48: 307.

P. SERVIIIUS, who has often been menti- A. Urb. 710. oned in the debates of the Senate, was a person of great rank and nobility; had been Conful C. VIBIUS with J. Cæfar, in the beginning of the civil PANSA, war; the fon of that Servilius, who by his A. HIRTIUS. conquest near mount Taurus, obtained the furname of Isauricus. He affected the character of a Patriot, but having had a particular friendship with Antony, was much courted by that party; who took the advantage of his vanity, to fet him up as a Rival to Cicero in the management of public affairs: in which he frequently obstructed Cicero's measures, and took a pride to thwart and disappoint whatever he proposed: Cicero had long suffered this with patience, out of regard to the public service; till provoked by his late opposition in the affair of Plancus, he could not forbear treating him with an unufual feverity and refentment; of which he gives an account in a Letter to Brutus.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

"From Plancus's Letters, of which a copy,
"I imagine, has been fent to you, you will
perceive his excellent disposition towards the
Republic, with the condition of his Legions,
auxiliaries, and whole forces. Your own
people have informed you, I guess, by this
time, of the levity, inconstancy, and perpetual disaffection of your friend Lepidus;
who, next to his own brother, hates you,
his near relations, the most. We are anxious
with an expectation, which is now reduced
to the last criss: all our hopes are fix'd on
the delivery of D. Brutus; for whom we
have been in great apprehension. For my

A. Urb. 910.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA,
A. HIRTIUS.

part, I have business enough on my hands at home, with the Madman Servilius; whom " I have endured longer than became my dig-" nity: but I did it for the fake of the Republic; left I should give the disaffected a Leader, not well affected indeed himself, vet noble to refort to; which nevertheless they " still do. But I was not for alienating him " wholly from the Republic: I have now put an end to my forbearance of him; for he began to be so insolent, that he looked upon " no man as free. But in Plancus's debate he " was strangely mortified; and after two days " contest, was so roughly handled by me, that he will be the modester, I dare say, for the " future. In the midst of our contention, on " the ninth of April, I had Letters delivered to me in the Senate, from our friend " Lentulus in Asia; with an account of Cassius, " the Legions, and Syria; which when I read " prefently in public, Servilius funk, and many " more besides; for there are some of eminent " rank, who think most wickedly; but Ser-" vilius was most fensibly chagrined, for the " Senate's agreeing to my motion about Plancus. The part which he acts is monstrous " [1]."

THE news, which is mentioned in this Letter to have been fent by Lentulus, of Cassius's success, was soon after confirmed by particular Letters to Cicero, from Brutus and Cassius themselves; signifying, "that Cassius had possessed himself of Syria before Dolabella arrived there: that the Generals L. Murcus and Q. "Crispus had given up their armies to him:

" that

" part,

that a separate Legion under Cæcilius Bassus A. Urb. 710.
had submitted to him against the will of their Cic. 64.
Leader: that four other Legions, sent by C. VIBIUS

"Cleopatra from Egypt, to the affiftance of PANSA,

" Dolabella, under his Lieutenant Allienus, had A. Hirtius.

"all declared for him:" and left the first Letter should miscarry, as they often did, from such a distance, by passing through the enemy't quarters, Cassius sent him a second, with a more full and distinct account of all particulars.

Cassius proconful to his Friend M. Cicero.

" IF you are in health, it is a pleasure to me, " I am also very well. I have read your Let-" ter, in which I perceived your wonderful af-" fection for me: for you not only wish me " well, which indeed you have always done, " both for my own fake and the Republic's, " but entertain an uncommon concern and fol-" licitude for me. Wherefore, as I imagined, " in the first place, that you would think it " impossible for me to sit still, and see the Re-" public oppressed; and in the second, that whenever you supposed me to be in action, " you would be follicitous about my fafety and " fuccess; so, as soon as I was master of the " Legions which Allienus brought from Egypt, " I immediately wrote to you, and fent feveral " expresses to Rome: I wrote Letters also to " the Senate, but forbad the delivery of them, " till they had been first shewn to you. If these "Letters have not reached you, I make no doubt but that Dolabella, who, by the wick-" ed murder of Trebonius, is mafter of Afia, has feized my messengers, and intercepted them. I have all the armies which were in Siria under my command; and having been " forced A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA,
A. HIRTIUS.

forced to fit still a while, till I had discharged my promises to them, am now ready to take the field. I beg of you to take my hoon nor and interests under your special care: for " you know that I have never refused any danger or labor for the service of my country: that by your advice and authority I took arms against these infamous Robbers: that "I have not only raised armies for the defence " of the Republic and our liberty, but have " fnatched them from the hands of the most " cruel Tyrants: which if Dolabella had feized " before me, he would have given fresh spirit " to Antony's cause; not only by the apor proach, but by the very fame and expectac tion of his troops: for which reasons, take " my foldiers, I befeech you, under your pro-" tection, if you think them to have deserved " well of the state: and let none of them have " reason to repent, that they have preferred " the cause of the Republic, to the hopes of " plunder and rapine. Take care also, as far as it is in your power, that due honor be " paid to the Emperors Murcus and Crifpus; " for Baffus was miferably unwilling to deliver " up his Legion; and if his foldiers had not " fent a deputation to me in spite of him, " would have held out Apamea against me, till " it could be taken by force. I beg this of you, of not only for the fake of the Republic, which " of all things was ever the dearest to you, but " of our friendship also, which I am confident " has a great weight with you. Take my word " for it, the army which I have is the Senate's, " and every honest man's, and above all, your's: " for by hearing perpetually of your good dif-" position, they have conceived a wonderful

Coff.

" affection for you; and when they come to A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. " understand, that you make their interests your

" special care, they will think themselves in- C. VIBIUS

"debted to you for every thing. Since I wrote PANSA, " this, I have heard that Dolabella is come in- A. HIRTIUS.

" to Cilicia with all his forces: I will follow " him thither; and take care that you shall

" foon be informed of what I have done.

" wish only that my success may be answer-

" able to my good intentions. Continue the " care of your health and your love to me

« [m]."

BRUTUS, who had fent this good news before to Cicero, as well as to his mother, and fifter Tertia, charged the latter, not to make it public till they had first consulted Cicero, whether it was proper to do so or not [n]. He was afraid, lest the great prosperity of Cassius might give umbrage to the Cæsarian party; and raise a jealousy in the Leaders, who were afting against Antony, that the Republican interest would grow too strong for them. But Cicero fent him word, that the news was already known at Rome, before bis Letters arrived; and the there was some ground for his apprehensions, yet on the whole, they thought it more advisable to publish than to suppress it [o].

Thus Cicero, as he declared to the Senate, by his Letters, expresses, and exhortations, was perpetually exciting all, who had power or com-

[m] Ep. fam. 12. 12. vid. ib. 11.

avos hacemus, mullo

[n] Ego scripsi ad Tertiam Sororem & matrem, ne prius ederent hoc, quod optime ac felicissime gestit Cassius, quam tuum confilium cognovissent, Ad Brut. 2. 5.

[0] Video te veritum effe. id quod verendum fuit, ne animi partium Cæfaris-vehementer commmoverentur. Sed antequam tuas litteras accepimus, audita res erat & pervulgata-ib. 6.

nettro litteres, nanciique af-

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coff. C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirrius.

mand in any part of the Empire, to the common defence of their liberty [p]; and for his pains, had all the rage and malice of the factious to struggle with at home. These were particularly troublesome to him at this time, by spreading falle reports every day from Modena, of Antony's success, or what was more to be apprehended, of his union with the Confuls against D. Brutus: which raised such a terror thro' the City, that all bonest men were preparing to run away to Brutus or Cassius [q]. Cicero however was not disheartened at it, but in the general consternation appeared chearful and easy; and, as he fends word to Brutus, bad a perfett confidence in the Consuls, while the majority of his friends distrusted them, and from the number and firmness of their troops, had but little doubt of their victory, if ever they came to a battel with Antony [r]. But what touched him more fenfibly, was a ftory, kept up for some days with great industry, that be had formed a design to make bimself master of the City, and declare bimfelf Dictator; and would appear publickly with the Fasces within a day or two. The report, as groundless as it was, seems to have disturbed

[p] Meis litteris, meis nunciis, meis cohortationibus, omnes, qui ubique essent, ad patriæ præsidium excitatos. Phil. 14: 7.

[q] Triduo vero aut quatriduo—timore quodam perculsa civitas tota ad te se cum conjugibus & liberis effundebat. Ad Brutum. 3. vid. it. Ep. fam. 12. 8.

[r] Triftes enim de Bruto nottro litteræ, nunciique afferebantur, me quidem non maxime conturbabant. His enim exercitibus, ducibusque quos habemus, nullo modo poteram distidere. Neque assentiebar majori parti hominum. Fidem enim Consulum non condemnabam, quæ suspecta vehementer erat. Desiderabam nonnullis in rebus prudentiam & celeritatem. Ad Brut. 2. 1.

Coff.

him; but when Appuleius, the Tribun, one of A. Urb. 710. his warm friends, was taking pains to confute it, and justify him in a speech to the people, C. VIBIUS they all cried out with one voice, that Cicero PANSA, bad never done, nor designed to do any thing, but A. HIRTIUS. what was the best and most beneficial to the Republic [s]; this gave him fome comfort; but what brought him much greater was, the certain news of a victory gained over Antony at Modena, which arrived within a few hours after Appuleius's fpeech [t].

THE siege of Modena, which lasted near four months, was one of the most memorable in all antiquity, for the vigor both of the attack and the defence. Antony had invested it so closely, and posted himself so advantageously, that no fuccours could be thrown into it: and Brutus, though reduced to the utmost straits, defended it still with the greatest resolution. The old writers have recorded some stratagems, which are faid to have been put in practice on this occasion; "how Hirtius provided men skilled in "diving, with Letters written on Lead, to pass " into the Town under the river, which runs "through it; till Antony obstructed that pas-

fage, by nets and traps placed under water:

which gave occasion to another contrivance,

of fending their intelligence backwards and

" forwards by Pigeons [u]."

VOL. III.

PANSA

[1] Itaque P. Appuleiusdoloris mei concionem habuit maximam-in qua, cum me -liberare suspicione fascium vellet; una voce cuncta concio declaravit, nihil esse a me unquam de Repub. nisi optime cogitatum. Phil. 14. 6.

[1] Post hanc concionem duabus tribuíve horis optatiffimi nuntii & litterz venerunt_ibid-

[u] Frontin. de Stratagem. 1. 3. 13. Plin. Hift N. 1. x. 37. Dio. p. 315.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

PANSA was now upon the point of joining Hirtius, with four Legions of new levies, which he brought from Rome; but when he was advanced within a few miles of Hirtius's camp, Antony privately drew out some of his best troops, with defign to furprize him on the road before that union, and to draw him, if possible, to an engagement against his will. We have a particular account of the action, in a Letter to Cicero from Ser. Galba, one of the Conspirators against Cæsar, who bore a principal part and command in it.

GALBA to CICERO.

"On the fifteenth of April, the day on which Pansa was to arrive in Hirtius's camp, " (in whose company I was, for I went a hunof dred miles to meet him, on purpose to hasten " his march) Antony drew out two of his Lee gions, the fecond and thirty-fifth; and two Prætorian cohorts; the one his own, the o-"ther Silanus's, with part of the Evocati [x]; " and came forward towards us, imagining, " that we had nothing but four Legions of new " Levies. But in the night, to fecure our " march to the Camp, Hirtius had fent us the " Martial Legion, which I used to command, and two Pratorian cohorts. As foon as An-" tony's Horse appeared in fight, neither the Martial Legion, nor the Pratorian cohorts, " could be restrained from attacking them; so

[x] The Evocati were a choice body of Veteran Soldiers, who, after their difmission from service, being yet vigorous and fit for war,

were invited to it again, as a fort of volunteers, by the Consul or General, and distinguished from the rest by peculiar privileges.

Cic. 64. Coff.

that when we could not hold them in, we A. Urb. 710. "were obliged to follow them against our wills. "Antony kept his forces within Castel-Fran- C. VIBIUS " co [y]; and being unwilling to have it PANSA, " known, that he had his Legions with him, A. HIRTIUS. " fhewed onely his horse and light-armed foot. "When Pansa saw the Martial Legion running " forward against his orders, he commanded "two of the new raised Legions to follow him. " As foon as we got through the straits of the " Morass and the woods, we drew up the " twelve cohorts in order of battel. The other "two Legions were not yet come up. Antony " immediately brought all his troops out of the village, ranged likewise in order of battel, " and without delay engaged us. At first they " fought so brifkly on both sides, that nothing " could possibly be fiercer: tho' the right wing. " in which I was, with eight cohorts of the " Martial Legion, put Antony's thirty-fifth "Legion to flight at the first onset, and pur-" fued it above five hundred paces from the " place where the action began: wherefore ob-" ferving the enemy's horse attempting to fur-" round our wing, I began to retreat, and or-" dered the light-armed troops to make head " against the Moorish Horse, and prevent their " coming upon us behind. In the mean while "I perceived myself in the midst of Antony's " men, and Antony himself but a little way

[7] Ad Forum Gallorum: way between Modena and Bonow called Caftel Franco, a logna. Cluver. Ital. Ant. 1. 1. small village on the Amilian c. 28.

" behind me: upon which, with my shield " thrown over my shoulder, I pushed on my horse with all speed towards the new Legion

Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

A. Urb. 710. " that was coming towards us from the Camp: " and whilft Anthony's men were pursuing me, " and ours by mistake throwing javelins at me, " I was preferved, I know not how, by being " presently known to our foldiers. Cæsar's " Prætorian Cohort sustained the fight a long "time on the Amilian road: but our left wing, " which was the weaker, conflitting of two Co-" horts of the Martial Legion, and the Prate-" rian of Hirtius, began to give ground, be-" ing furrounded by Antony's Horse, in which " he is very strong. When all our ranks had made good their retreat, I retreated myfelf the last to our Camp. Antony, as the Conqueror, fancied that he could take it; but upon trial loft many of his men in the at-" tempt, without being able to do us any hurt. " Hirtius in the mean time hearing of the enec gagement, marched out with twenty veteran " Cohorts, and meeting Antony on his return, " intirely routed and put to flight his whole army, in the very same place where they had " fought before at Castel-Franco. About ten at " night Antony regained his Camp at Modena, " with all his Horse. Hirtius retired to that camp which Pansa had quitted in the morn-" ing, and where he left the two Legions, which "Antony attacked. Thus Antony has lost the " greater part of his veteran troops, yet not " without some loss of our Pratorian Cohorts, " and the Martial Legion: we took two of " Antony's eagles, and fixty standards; and " have gained a confiderable advantage [z]." BESIDES this Letter from Galba, there came Letters also severally from the two Confuls and Offavius:

Tamballina

Octavius; confirming the other account, with A. Urb. 710. the addition of some farther particulars: that Pansa fighting bravely at the bead of his troops, C. VIBIUS bad received two dangerous wounds, and was car- PANSA, ried off the field to Bologna: that Hirtius had A. HIRTIUS. scarce lost a single man: and that to animate his soldiers the better, he took up the Eugle of the fourth Legion, and carried it forward bimself: that Cafar was left to the guard of their Camp : where he was attacked likewise by another body of the enemy, whom he repulsed with great loss [a]. Antony reproached him afterwards with running away from this engagement in such a fright, that be did not appear again till two days after, and without bis Horse or General's babit : but the account just mentioned was given by Cicero from Letters, that were read to the Senate, in which Hirtius declared him to have acted with the greatest courage [b].

THE news reached Rome on the twentieth of April, where it raised an incredible joy; and the greater, we may imagine, for the late terrors which they had fuffered from contrary reports. The whole body of the people affembled presently about Cicero's house, and carried him in a kind of triumph to the Capitol, whence, on their

[a] Cum—iple in primis Panía pugnaret, duobus periculosis vulneribus acceptis, fublatus e prælio-Phil. 14.

Hirtius ipse, aquilam quartæ Legionis cum inferret, qua nullius pulchriorem speciem Imperatoris accepimus, cum tribus Antonii Legionibus, equitatuque conflixit. Ib. 10.

Cæfar—adolescens maximi animi, ut verissime scribit Hirtius, castra multarum Legionum paucis cohortibus tutatus ett, secundumque prælium fecit. Ibid. vid. App. 1. 3. 571.

[6] Priore prælio Antonius eum fugisse scribit, ac fine paludamento equoque post biduum demum apparuisse. Suct. Aug. x.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS. their return, they placed him in the Rostra, to give them an account of the victory; and then conducted him home with infinite acclamations: fo that in a Letter upon it to Brutus, he fays, that be reaped on that day the full fruit of all his toils, if there be any fruit in true and solid glory

[0].

THE day following the Senate was fummoned by Cornutus, the Prætor, to deliberate on the Letters of the Confuls and Octavius; Servilius's opinion was, "that the City should now " quit the Sagum, and take the common gown " again; and that a public Thanksgiving " should be decreed jointly to the honor of the " Confuls and Octavius. Cicero spoke next, " and declared strongly against quitting the " Sagum, till D. Brutus was first delivered " from the fiege: that it would be ridiculous " to put it off till they should see him in safe-"ty, for whose sake they had put it on - that " the motion for quitting it, flowed from envy " to D. Brutus; to deprive him of the glory "that it would be to his name, to have it de-" livered to posterity that the people of Rome " had put on the Sagum for the danger, and " refumed the gown for the prefervation of one " Citizen - he advised them therefore to con-" tinue in their former mind, of thinking the " whole danger and stress of the war to depend " on D. Brutus - and tho' there was reason to "hope that he was already fafe, or would " shortly

[c] Cum hesterno die me ovantem ac prope triumphantem populus Romanus in Capitolium domo tulerit? domum inde reduxerit-Phil. 14. 5.

Quo quidem die magnorum meorum laborum, ---fructum cepi maximum; fi modo est aliquis fructus ex folida veraque gloria, &c. Ad Brut. 3.

fhortly be fo, yet they should reserve the fruit A. Urb. 710. of that hope to fact and the event, left they " should be found too hasty in fnatching the C. VIBIUS " favor of the Gods, or foolish in contemning PANSA, "the power of fortune [d]. — Then as to the A. HIRTIUS. " decree of the Thanksgiving, he urges Servi-" lius with omitting two things in his vote, which ought necessarily to have accompanied it; the giving Antony the title of enemy, " and their own Generals, of Emperors -" the fwords of our foldiers are dyed, fays he, or rather moistened onely as yet with blood: " if it was the blood of enemies, it was an act " of the utmost piety; if of Citizens, the most " detestable wickedness: how long then shall he, who has outdone all enemies in villany, es go without the name of enemy? he is now " waging an inexpiable war with four Confuls, " with the Senate and People of Rome; de-" nounces plagues, devastation, the rack and " tortures to us all: confesses that Dolabella's " horrid act, which no Barbarians would own, " was done by his advice: declares what he " would have done to this City, by the cala-" mity of the people of Parma; honest and " excellent men, firm to the interests of the "Senate and People; whom L. Antony, the ortent and diffrace of his species, put to "death by all the methods of cruelty [e]. -"That Hannibal was never fo barbarous to " any City, as Antony to Parma. — He con-" jures them to remember, how much they " had all been terrified for two days past by " villainous reports spread about the City; and " were expecting either a wretched death, or 0.4 " lamentable

A. Urb. 710. " lamentable flight; and could they scruple to Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA. A. HIRTIUS.

" call those men enemies, from whom they fear-" ed fuch dreadful things? - he then propo-" fed to enlarge the number of days of the "Thanksgiving, since it was not to be decreed " to one, but to three Generals jointly; to " whom in the first place he would give the title of Emperors - fince there had not been " a supplication decreed without it for twenty " years past: so that Servilius should not either " have decreed it at all, or allowed the usual honor to those, to whom even new and un-" usual honors were due [f]. That, if accord-" ing to the present custom, the Title of Em. " peror was commonly given for killing a thou-" fand or two of Spaniards, Gauls, or Thracians; " how could they refuse it now, when so many "Legions were routed, and fuch a multitude " flain? - for with what honors, fays he, and congratulations should our deliverers them-" felves be received into this Temple, when of yesterday, on the account of what they have done, the people of Rome carried me into the " Capitol in a kind of Triumph? for that, af-" ter all, is a just and real Triumph, when by " the general voice of the City, a public Testi-" mony is given to those who have deserved " well of the Commonwealth. For if in the common joy of the whole City, they congra-" tulated me fingly, it is a great declaration of " their judgement: if they thanked me, still " greater: if both, nothing can be imagined " more glorious - that he was forced to fay " fo much of himself against his will, by the " ftrange envy and injuries which he had lately " fuffered fuffered—that the infolence of the Factious, A. Urb. 710. " as they all knew, had raised a report and sufof picion upon him, of his aiming at a Tyran- C. VIBIUS " ny; tho' his whole life had been spent in de- PANSA, " fending the Republic from it: as if he, who A. HIRTIUS. " had destroyed Catiline, for that very crime, " was of a fudden become a Catiline himself [g]. "That if the report had found credit in the "City, their defign was, by a fudden affault " upon his person, as upon a Tyrant, to have " taken away his life — that the thing itself " was manifest, and the whole affair should be " laid open in proper time—that he had " faid all this, not to purge himself to them, " to whom he should be forry to want an apo-" logy, but to admonish certain persons, of " jejune and narrow minds, to look upon the " virtue of excellent Citizens, as the object of their imitation, not of their envy: fince the " Republic was a wide field, where the course " of glory was open to many [b]: that if any " man contested with him the first place in the " government, he acted foolishly, if he meant " to do it by oppoling vice to virtue: that as " the race was gained by running the fastest, so " virtue was only to be conquered by a supe-" rior virtue - that they could never get the " better of him by bad votes; by good ones " perhaps they might, and he himself should " be glad of it — that the people of Rome " were perpetually inquiring, how men of their " rank voted and acted, and formed their judg-" ment of them accordingly-that they all " remembred, how in December last, he was " the author of the first step towards recover" ing their liberty: how from the first of Ja-

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA,
A. HIRTIUS.

" nuary he had been continually watching over " the fafety of the Commonwealth: how his " house and his ears were open day and night " to the advices and informations of all who " came to him: how his opinion always was against an Embassy to Antony: how he had " always voted him an enemy, and their present " flate, a war: but as oft as he mentioned an " enemy or a war, the Confuls had always dropt " his motion, from the number of those that were proposed [i]: which could not however be done in the prefent case, because he, who " had already voted a Thanksgiving, had un-" warily voted Antony an enemy: fince a "Thanksgiving had never been decreed but " against enemies; and never asked or granted " in what was properly a civil war—that " they should either have denied it, or must of " course decree those to be enemies, for whose " defeat it was granted .- Then after florish-" ing on the particular merit of the three Ge-" nerals, Panfa, Hirtius, Octavius; and shewing how well they had each deserved the " name of Emperor, he decrees a Thanksgiving " of fifty days in the name of the three jointly " [k]". In the last place, he proceeds to speak of the rewards due to the foldiers, and especially of the honors to be paid to those who had lost their lives in the defence of their country. " For these, he proposes a splendid monument " to be erected in common to them all, at the " public charge, with their names and fervices " inscribed"—and in recommending it, breaks out into a kind of funeral Elogium upon them-

" Oh happy death, fays he, which when due A. Urb. 710. " to nature, was paid to your country! for I cannot but look upon you as born for your C. VIBIUS country, whose name is even derived from PANSA, " Mars: as if the same God, who gave birth A. HIRTIUS. " to this City, for the good of nations, had " given birth also to you, for the good of this "City. Death in flight is scandalous; in vi-" ctory glorious; wherefore whilft those imor pious wretches, whom you flew, will fuffer "the punishment of their parricide in the infer-" nal regions; you, who breathed your last in " victory, have obtained the place and feat of the pious. The life given to us by nature is " short; but the memory of a life well spent, " everlasting: if it were not longer than this " life, who would be fo mad, at the expence " of the greatest pains and danger, to contend " for the prize of glory? your lot therefore is " happy, O you, while you lived, the bravest, " now the holiest of foldiers; for the fame of " your virtue can never be loft, either by the " forgetfulness of those who are now alive, or " the filence of those who shall come hereafter; " fince the Senate and people of Rome have " raised to you, as it were, with their own " hands an immortal monument. There have " been many great and famous armies in the " Punic, Gallic, Italic wars; yet no such ho-" nor was ever done to any of them. I wish "that we could still do greater, fince you have " done the greatest services to us: you drove " Antony mad with rage, from the city: you " repulfed him, when he attempted to return: " a fabric therefore shall be erected of magni-" ficent work; and letters engraved upon it, "the eternal witnesses of your divine virtue; " nor

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coff. C. VIBIUS PANSA,

nor will those who see or hear of your monument, ever cease talking of you: so that instead of this frail and mortal condition of " life, you have now acquired an immortality A. Hirrius. " [1]."—He then renews their former affurances to the old Legions, of the full and " punctual payment of all, which had been promifed to them, as foon as the war should be over; and for those, in the mean time, " who had loft their lives for their country, he " proposes, that the same rewards which would " have been given to them if they had liv'd, " should be given immediately to their parents, " children, wives, or brothers." - All which he includes, as usual, in the form of a decree,

which was ratified by the Senate.

ANTONY, being cruelly mortified by this defeat, kept himself close within his Camp, and resolved to hazard nothing farther, but to act onely on the defensive; except by haraffing the enemy with his Horse, in which he was far superior. He still hoped to make himself master of Modena, which was reduced to extremity; and by the strength of his works, to prevent their throwing any relief into it. Hirtius and Octavius, on the other hand, elate with victory, were determined at all hazards to relieve it; and after two or three days fpent in finding the most likely place of breaking thro' the intrenchments, they made their attack with fuch vigor, that Antony, rather than fuffer the town to be fnatched at last out of his hands, chose to draw out his Legions, and come to a general battel. The fight was bloody and obstinate; and Antony's men, tho' obliged to give ground, bravely ly disputed every inch of it: till D. Brutus, ta- A. Urb. 710. king the opportunity at the same time to fally Cie. 64. out of the Town, at the head of his garrison, C. VIBIUS belped greatly to determine and complete the victory: PANSA, Hirtius pushed his advantage with great spirit, A. HIRTIUS. and forced his way into Antony's Camp; but when he had gained the middle of it, was unfortunately killed near the General's Tent: Pontius Aquila, one of the Conspirators, was killed likewise in the same place: but Octavius, who followed to support them, made good their attempt, and kept possession of the Camp, with the intire defeat and destruction of Antony's best troops: while Antony himself, with all his borse, fled with great precipitation towards the Alps. Some writers give a different relation of this action, but from the facts and circumstances of it, delivered by Cicero, this appears to be the genuin account. The Conful Pansa died the day following of his wounds at Bologna [m].

Pentagl - In send of the Acting opposite the contraction of and some form of the state of t

[m] Cum alia laudo, & Bruti eruptio non folum ipfi mo ad victoriam adjumento. p. 372. Ad Brut. 4.

Ibi Hirtium quoque perigaudeo accidisse, tum quod isse & Pontium Aquilam, &c. Ep. fam. x. 33. vid. it. Ep. falutaris fuit, sed etiam maxi- fam. xi. 13. & Appian. l. 3.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

SECT. XI.

HE intire defeat of Antony's army made all people prefently imagine, that the war was at an end, and the liberty of Rome established: which would probably have been the case, if Antony had either perished in the action, or the Confuls furvived it: but the death of the Confuls, though not felt so sensibly at first, in the midst of their joy for the victory, gave the fatal blow to all Cicero's schemes; and was the immediate cause of the ruin of the Republic [a]. Hirtius was a man of letters and politeness; intimately intrufted with Cæfar's counfils, and employed to write his acts: but as he was the proper creature of Cæsar, and strongly infected with party, fo his views were all bent on supporting the power that had raised him, and serving his Patron, not the public. In the beginning therefore of the civil war, when he was Tribun of the people, he published a law, to exclude all, who were in arms with Pompey, from any employment or Office in the state [b]: which made him particularly obnoxious to the Pompeians, who confidered him as their most inveterate enemy. Pansa, whose Father had been proscribed by Sylla [c], was attached with equal zeal to Cæfar, as to the

[a] Hirtium quidem & Pansam—In consulatu Reip. salutares, alieno sane tempore amisimus. Ep. sam. 12. 25.

Pansa amisso, quantum detrimenti Respub. acceperit, non te præterit. Ep. sam. xi. 9. Quanto sit in periculo Respub. quam potero brevissime exponam. Primum omnium, quantam perturbationem rerum urbanarum afferat obitus Consulum, &c. ib. x.

[6] Neminem Pompeianum qui vivat tenere lege Hirtia dignitates. Phil. 13. 16.

[c] Dio. 1. 45. 278.

head and reviver of the Marian cause; and ser- A. Urb. 710. ved him in all his wars with fingular affection and fidelity; he was a grave, fincere, and worthy man; and being naturally more moderate and benevolent than Hirtius, was touched with the ruin of his country, and the miseries of the oppressed Pompeians; many of whom he relieved by his humanity; and restored by his interest to the City and their estates [d]. This made him very popular, and gained him the efteem of all the honest; so that Cassius, in defending his Epicurism to Cicero, alledges Pansa, as an example of those genuin Epicureans, who placed their plasure or chief good in virtuous acts [e]. Before their entrance into the Confulship, Quintus Cicero gave a most wretched account of them both; "as of a lewd, luxurious pair; not fit " to be trufted with the command of a paultry "Town, much less of the Empire; and fays, " that if they were not removed from the helm, " the Republic would certainly be loft; fince " Antony would eafily draw them into a part-" nership of his crimes; for when he served " with them in Gaul, he had feen incredible " inftances of their effeminacy and debauchery; " in the face even of the enemy [f]." — But we must charge a great part of this character to the peevishness and envy of Quintus: for whatever-

> ndovny sequitur, virtutem retinet. &c. ib. 19.

certus_Ep. fam. 6. 12. Quod multos miseriis levavit, & quod se in his malis hominem præbuit, mirabilis eum virorum bonorum benevolentia profecuta est. Ep. fam. 15. 17.

[d] Pansa, gravis homo &

[e] Itaque & Pansa, qui

[f] Quos ego penitus novi libidinum & languoris effeminatissimi animi plenos; qui nisi a gubernaculis recesferint, maximum ab universo naufragio periculum est, &c. Ep. fam 16. 27.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. ever they had been before, they were certainly good Confuls; and out of their affection to Cicero, and regard to his authority, governed themselves generally in all great affairs, by his maxims. They were perfuaded, that the defign of revenging Cæfar's death would throw the Republic again into convulsions; and flowed from no other motive, than the ambition of poffeffing Cæsar's place; and resolved therefore to quell by open force all attempts against the public peace. From their long adherence to Cæfar, they retained indeed some prejudices in favor of that party; and were loth to procede to extremities, till pacific measures were found ineffectual. This gave Cicero some reason to blame. but never to diffrust them; to complain of their phlegm and want of vigor, as detrimental to the common cause: yet while they were generally fuspected by others, he always thought them fincere, though they did not in all cases act up to his withes. The event confirmed his judgmene of them: for they both not only exposed, but loft their lives with the greatest courage in the defence of the Republic; and shewed themselves to be the very men, which Cicero had constantly affirmed them to be; and tho' he imputes some little blame to Hirtius, yet of Pansa, he declares, that he wanted neither courage from the first, nor fidelity to the last [g].

IF

[g] Quales tibi sæpe scripfi Consules, tales extiterunt. [ad Brut. 3.] erat in Senatu satis vehemens & acer Pansa; cum in cæteros hujus generis, tum maxime in Socerum: cui Consuli non animus ab initio, non sides ad extremum defuit. Bellum ad

Mutinam gerebatur; nihil ut in Cæstre reprehenderes, nonnulla in Hirtio-ib. 10.

N.B. Several Medals were firuck by the Senate on the occasion of this victory; particularly one in honor of Pansa, exhibiting the head of the Goddess of Liberty, crown-

IF they had lived to reap the fruits of their A. Urb. 710. victory, their power and authority would have been sufficient to restrain Octavius within the bounds of his duty; and fustain the tottering Republic, till Brutus and Cassius could arrive to their affistance; and Plancus and D. Brutus unite themselves in the same cause, and give it a firm establishment in their Consulship of the next year: all whose armies, together with the African Legions, were far superior to any force that could have been brought against them. But the death of the two Confuls placed Octavius at once above controul, by leaving him the mafter of both their armies: especially of all the veterans; who were disaffected to D. Brutus, and could not be induced to follow him; and it fell out so lucky and apposite to all Octavius's views, as to give birth to a general perfuasion, that they bad received foul. play, and were both of them killed by bis contrivance: for he was observed to be the first man who took up Hirtius's body in the Camp; where some imagined him to have been killed by his own soldiers; and Pansa's Physician, Glyco, was actually thrown into Prison by Torquatus, Pansa's Quæstor, upon a suspicion of baving poisoned bis wounds [b]. But the chief VOL. III. ground

ed with laurel, and the inscription, Libertatis; and on the reverse, Rome fitting upon the spoils of enemies, holding a Spear in her right hand, and a Dagger in her left, with her foot upon the globe, and victory flying towards her, to crown her with laurel; and the inscription, C. Panfa, C. F. C. N. See Morel, Fam. Rom.

[b] Rumor increbuit, ambos opera ejus occisos: ut Antonio fugato, Repub. Confulibus orbata, folus victores exercitus occuparet. Pansæ quidem adeo suspecta mors fuit, ut Glyco Medicus custoditus sit, quasi venenum vulneri indidisset. Suet. Aug. xi. Dio. 1. 46, 317. App. P. 572.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

ground of that notion feems to have lain in the fortunate coincidence of the fact with the interefts of Octavius: for M. Brutus thought it incredible, and in the most pressing manner begged of Cicero, to procure Glyco's enlargement, and protect bim from any barm; as being a worthy, modest man, incapable of such a villary; and who, of all others, suffered the greatest loss by Pansa's death [i].

CICERO was foon aware of the dangerous turn which this event was likely to give to their affairs: and within a day or two after the news. intimates his apprehension of it to Brutus: "Young Cæsar, says he, has a wonderful dis-" polition to virtue? I wish that I may govern " him as eafily, in all this heigth of honor and " power, as I have hitherto done: the thing is " now much harder; yet I do not despair of it: " for the youth is persuaded, and chiefly by " me, that we owe our present fafety to him: " and in truth, if he had not at first driven " Antony from the City, all had been loft [k]." But as he found Octavius grow daily more and more untractable, fo he began to exhort and implore Brutus in every Letter, to bring bis army into Italy, as the onely thing which could fave

[i] Tibi Glycons Medicum Panfæ - diligentiffime commendo; audimus eum venisse in suspicionem Torquato de morte Paníæ, custodirique ut Parricidam. Nihil minus credendum, &c. Rogo te & quidem valde rogo, eripias eum ex cuttodia. - Ad Brut. 6.

[k] Cæsaris vero pueri mirifica indoles virtutis. Utinam tam facile eum florentem & honoribus & gratia regere ac tenere possimus, ut adhue tenuimus ! est omnino illud difficilius: fed non diffidimus. Persua'um est enim adolescenti, & maxime per me, ejus opera nos esse salvos: & certe, nisi is Antonium ab urbe avertiffet, periisient omnia. Ad Brut. 3. Morel, P. o. Rom.

them in their present circumstances: and to en- A. Urb. 710. force his own authority, he procured a vote also of the Senate, to call him home with his Legions

to the defence of the Republic [1].

AT Rome however the general rejoicings ftifled all present attention to the loss of their Confuls; and Antony's friends were fo dejected for fome time, that they gave Cicero no more oppolition in the Senate: where he poured out all imaginable honors on the deceased, Hirtius, Panía and Aquila; decreed an ovation to Cafar; and added a number of days to their Thankfgiving, in honor of D. Brutus: whose deliverance happening to fall upon bis birth-day, he decreed likewise, that his name should be ascribed ever after to that day, in the Fasti or public Kalendars, for a perpetual memorial of the victory. Antony's adherents were also declared enemies; in which number Servilius himfelf included Ventidius; and moved, to give Cassius the command of the war against Dolabella; to whom Cicero joined-Brutus; in case that be should find it useful to the Republic [m].

THE decree of an Ovation to Octavius was blamed by Brutus and his friends [n]; yet feems to have been wifely and artfully defigned: for

[1] Te, cognita Senatus auctoritate, in Italiam adducere exercitum: quod ut faceres, idque maturares, magnopere defiderabat Respublica. Ad Brut. x.

[m] A.d.v. Kalend. Maias cum de iis, qui hostes judicati funt, bello persequendis, fententiæ dicerentur, dixit Servilius etiam de Ventidio, & ut Cassius persequeretur

Dolabellam. Cui cum essem affensus, decrevi hoc amplius, ut tu, si arbitrarere utile - persequerere bello Dolabellam, &c. Ad Brut. 5. it. 15.

[n] Suspicor illud minus tibi probari, quod ab tuis familiaribus-non probatur, quod ut Ovanti introire Cæfari liceret, decreverim. Ad Brut. 15.

A. Urb. 710. while it carried an appearance of honor, it would regularly have ftript him of his power, if he had made use of it: since his commission was to expire of course, and his army to be dissolved, upon his first entrance into the City: but the confusion of the times made laws and cuftoms of little effect with those who had the

power to dispense with them.

THE Commanders abroad were fo struck with Antony's defeat, that they redoubled their affurances to Cicero of their firmness and zeal for the common cause. Lepidus especially, who had fuffered two of his Lieutenants, Silanus and Culleo, to carry fuccours to Antony at Modena, labors to excuse it in a civil and humble ftrain, and to persuade Cicero, "that they had "done it against his orders; and tho, for their " former relation to him, he was unwilling to " punish them with the last severity, yet he " had not fince employed them, or received " them even into his Camp. He acquaints "him, that Antony was arrived in his Pro-" vince with one Legion, and a great multi-"tude of men unarmed, but with all his Horse, " which was very strong; and that Ventidius " had joined him with three Legions: that he " was marching out against him with all his " forces; and that many of Antony's Horse " and Foot daily deferted him. - That for " himself, he would never be wanting in his "duty to the Senate and the Republic -" thanks him for not giving credit to the false " reports which were spread of him: and above " all, for the late honors that he had decreed to " him - begs him to expect every thing " from him, which could be expected from an " honest

honest man, and to take him under his spe- A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. " cial protection [0]."

POLLIO still more explicitly, "that there was no time now for loitering, or expecting " the orders of the Senate - that all who " wished to preserve the Empire, and the very

" name of the Roman people, ought to lend their present help. — That nothing was

" more dangerous, than to give Antony leifure " to recollect himself. - That for his part,

" he would neither desert nor survive the Re-" public — was grieved onely for his being

" at fuch a diffance, that he could not come fo " foon as he wished to its relief, &c. [p]."

PLANCUS sent word, "that he was taking " all possible care to oppress Antony, if he

" came into that country. - That if he came

" without any confiderable body of troops, he " should be able to give a good account of

" him, tho' he should be receiv'd by Lepidus;

" or if he brought any force with him, would " undertake that he should do no harm in those

" parts, till they could fend him fuccours fuffi-

" cient to destroy him - that he was then " in a treaty with Lepidus, about uniting their

" forces in the same cause, by the mediation of

Laterenfis and Furnius; nor would be hin-"dered by his private quarrel to the man, from

" concurring with his greatest enemy in the " fervice of the commonwealth [q]." In another Letter he speaks with great contempt of

"Antony's shattered forces, tho' joined with

" those of Ventidius, the Mule-driver, as he " calls him; and is confident, that if he could

Contum ego As

dispersiones love

[[]o] Ep. fam. x. 34.

A, Urb. 710. " have met with them, they would not have Cic. 64.

" ftood an hour before him [r]."

THE Conquerors at Modena were much cenfured in the mean time for giving Antony leifure to escape: but Octavius from the beginning had no thoughts of pursuing him: he had already gained what he aimed at; had reduced Antony's power fo low, and raised his own fo high, as to be in condition to make his own terms with him in the partition of the Empire; of which he feems to have formed the plan from this moment: whereas if Antony had been wholly destroyed, together with the Confuls, the Republican party would have probably been too ftrong for him and Lepidus; who, tho' Mafter of a good army, was certainly a weak General [s]: when he was pressed therefore to pursue Antony, he contrived still to delay it, till it was too late; taking himself to be more usefuly employed, in fecuring to his interests the troops of the Confuls.

CICERO was particularly disgusted at Antony's escape; and often expostulates upon it with D. Brutus: he tells him, "that if Antony " should ever recover strength again, all his " great services to the Republic would come to nothing it was reported, fays he, " Rome, and all people believed it, that he was " fled with a few unarmed, dispirited men; and himself almost broken-hearted: but if it be fo with him, as I hear it is, that you canton Mony's financied forces the somed with

fet, ut prior occurerem Antonio, non mehercule horam constitisset: tantum ego & mihi confido, & fic perculfas illius copias, Ventidiique

[r] Mihi enim fi contigif- Mulionis castra despicio. Ib.

Ventidius

[[]s] Cum & Lepido omnes Imperatores forent meliores, & multis Antonius, dum erat sobrius. Vell. Pat. 2. 63.

" not fight him again without danger; he does A. Urb. 710. " not feem to have fled from Modena, but to

" have changed onely the feat of the war. " Wherefore men are now quite different from " what they were: fome even complain that " you did not purfue him; and think that he " might have been destroyed, if diligence had " been used; such is the temper of people, and

" above all of ours, to abuse their liberty a-

" gainst those by whom they obtained it: it is vour part however to take care that there be

" no real ground of complaint. The truth of " the case is, he who oppresses Antony, puts

" an end to the war. What the force of that

" is, it is better for you to consider, than for

" me to write more explicitly [t]."

D. BRUTUS, in his answer, gives him the reasons why he could not follow Antony so soon as he wished: " I had no horse, says he; no " carriages; did not know that Hirtius was "killed; had no confidence in Cæfar, before " I met and talked with him; thus the first " day passed. The next morning early I was " fent for by Pansa to Bologna; but on the " road met with an account of his death: I ran " back to my little army; for fo I may truly " call it: it is extremely reduced, and in fad " condition for want of all things: so that An-" tony gained two days of me, and made much " greater journeys in flying, than I could in " pursuing; for his troops went straggling; " mine in order. Where-ever he passed, he " opened all the prisons, carried away the men, " and flopt no where till he came to the Fords.

"This place lies between the Apennine and the P 4 Alps; A. Urb. 710. Alps; a most difficult country to march thro': Cic. 64. " when I was thirty miles from him, and Ven-" tidius had already joined him, a copy of his

" fpeech was brought to me, in which he begs " of his foldiers to follow him cross the Alps;

" and declares, that he acted in concert with " Lepidus: but the foldiers cried out, especi-

" ally those of Ventidius, for he has very few " of his own, that they would either conquer

" or perish in Italy; and began to beg, that " he would go to Pollentia: when he could not

" over-rule them, he put off his march to the " next day. Upon this intelligence, I presently

" fent five Cohorts before me to Pollentia, and " followed them myself with the army: my

"detachment came to the place an hour before

"Trebellius, with Antony's Horse: this gave

" me an exceeding joy; for I esteem it equal

" to a victory, &c. [u]."

In another Letter he fays, "that if Cæfar " would have been perfuaded by him to cross " the Apennine, he could have reduced Antony " to fuch straits, that he must have been de-" ftroyed by want rather than the fword: but " that they could neither command Cæfar, nor " Cæfar his own troops; both which circum-" stances were very bad, &c. [x]. This authentic account from D. Brutus confutes two facts, which are delivered by an old Historian, and generally received by all the moderns; first, that Octavius after the victory, refused to have

[u] Ibid. 13. [x] Quod fi me Cæfar

inopia potius quam ferro conficeretur. Sed neque Cæ fari audiffet, atque Apeninum imperari poteft, nec Cæfar transiffet, in tantas angustias exercitui suo : quod utrumq ue Antoniam compulissem, ut pessimum est.—ib. x.

any conference with D. Brutus; and that Brutus, A. Urb. 710. for that reason, forbad bim to enter bis Province, or to pursue Antony: secondly, that Pansa, in his last moments, sent for Octavius, and advised bim to an union with Antony against the Senate [v]. For it is evident, that on the very day of the victory, there was actually a conference between the two first; which passed in so amicable a manner, as to ease Brutus of the jealousy which be had before conceived of Octavius: and Pansa's death bappened so early the next morning, that it left no room for the pretended advice and speech which is made for him to Octavius: efpecially fince it appears on the contrary, that instead of Octavius, Pansa really sent for D. Brutus, when he found himself dying, as if dispofed rather to communicate fomething for the fervice of that cause, in which he had lost his life. But both the stories were undoubtedly forged afterwards, to fave Octavius's honor, and give a better color to that fudden change of measures, which from this hour he was determined to purfue [2].

office and C. An-

[7] Vid. Appian. 1. 3. p. 573. it. Hift. Rom. par Catrou & Rouille. T.17. l. 4.

p. 433, &c.

Medal still remaining, that gives no small confirmation to this notion; and was struck probably at Rome, either by Pansa himself, upon his marching out towards Modena, or by the Senate foon after Pansa's death, in testimony of the strict union. that fubfisted between him

and D. Brutus Albinus. For on the one fide, there is the Head of a Silenus, as it is called, or rather of Pan, [2] There is an original which is frequent on Pansa's coins, with the inscription also of his name, C. Pansa: and on the other, Albinus. Bruti. F. with two right bands joined, bolding a Caduceus, as an emblem of the firictest amity and concord.-See Famil. Vibia. in Vaillant or Morel.__

fer Dock sp. ports.

A. Urb. 710. C. ANTONY was still a prisoner with M. Brutus. whose indulgence gave him an opportunity of practifing upon the foldiers, and raifing a fedition in the Camp, which created no small trouble to Brutus. The foldiers however foon repented of their rafhness, and killed the authors of it; and would have killed Antony too, if Brutus would have delivered him into their bands: but he could not be induced to take his life, tho' this was the fecond offence of the fame kind; but pretending, that be would order bim to be thrown into the Sea, sent bim to be secured on ship-board, either from doing or suffering any farther mischief [a]: of which he wrote an account to Cicero, who returned the following answer.

As to the sedition in the fourth Legion " about C. Antony, you will take what I fay " in good part; I am better pleased with the " feverity of the foldiers than with yours. I am " extremely glad that you have had a trial of "the affection of your Legions and the Horse " --- as to what you write, that I am pur-"fuing the Antony's much at my ease, and " praise me for it; I suppose you really think "To: but I do not by any means approve your diffinction, when you fay, that our animo-" fity ought to be exerted rather in preventing " civil wars, than in revenging ourselves on " the vanquished. I differ widely from you, Brutus, not that I yield to you in clemency; " but a falutary feverity is always preferable to " a specious shew of mercy. If we are so fond of pardoning, there will be no end of civil wars: but you are to look to that: for I can Smolan Istaliana a fav d celwice him

fay of myfelf, what Plautus's old man fays A. Urb. 710.

" me; it is you who are the most interested in it.

"You will be undone, Brutus, believe me, if you do not take care: for you will not always

" have the people, nor the Senate, nor a Lea-

" der of the Senate, the same as now. Take

this, as from the Pythian Oracle; nothing

can be more true [b]."

BRUTUS's wife, Porcia, notwithstanding the tragical flory which the old writers have dreffed up, of the manner of her killing herfelf upon the news of her husband's unhappy fate [c], died most probably about this time at Rome, of a lingering illness. She seems to have been in a bad state of health when Brutus left Italy, where fhe is faid to have parted from him with the utmost grief and floods of tears, as if conscious that she was taking her last leave of him: and Plutarch fays, that there was a Letter of Brutus extant in his days, if it was genuin, in which he lamented her death, and complained of his friends for neglecting ber in ber last sickness: this however is certain, that in a Letter to Atticus, he gives a hipt of Porcia's indisposition, with a slight compliment to Atticus for his care of her [d]: and the following Letter of condolence to him from Cicero, can hardly be applied to any other occafion but that of her death.

CICERO TO BRUTUS.

"I should perform the same office which you formerly did in my loss, of comforting you by

[b] Ad Brut. 2.
[c] App. 1. iv. 699. Dio.

[d] Valetudinem Porciae

meæ tibi curæ effe, non mi
1. 47. 356. Val. Max. 4. 6.

ror. Ad Brut. 17.

A. Urb. 710. "by Letter, did I not know that you cannot Cic. 64. "want those remedies in your grief, with which "you relieved mine. I wish onely that you may now cure yourself more easily than at "that time you cured me; for it would be

"ftrange in so great a man as you, not to be able to practife what he had prescribed to

" another. As for me, not onely the reasons which you then collected, but your very au-

"thority deterred me from indulging my for-

row to excess. For when you thought me to behave myself with greater softness than

became a man, especially one who used

to comfort others, you chid me with more feverity than it was usual for you to express:

" fo that, out of a reverence to your judg-

" ment, I roused myself: and by the accession

" of your authority, took every thing that I had learnt or read, or heard on that subject,

"to have the greater weight. Yet my part,

"Brutus, at that time was onely to act agree-

" bly to duty and to Nature: but your's, as

" we fay, is to be acted on the stage, and be-

fore the people. For when the eyes, not onely of your army, but of all the City, nay, of

19 of your army, but of all the City, nay, of all the world, are upon you, it is wholly in-

16 decent for one, by whom we other mortals

" are made the stouter, to betray any dejection or want of courage. You have suffered, in-

" deed, a great loss; (for you have lost that,

" which has not left its fellow on earth) and

" must be allowed to grieve under so cruel a

blow; lest to want all sense of grief should be thought more wretched than grief itself:

but to do it with moderation, is both useful to

"others, and necessary to yourself. I would

write more, if this was not already too much:

Val. Max a. 6.

. vor. Ad Brat. iv.

We we

"we expect you and your army: without A. Urb. 710. "which, tho' all other things fuccede to our Cic. 64.

" wishes, we shall hardly ever be free [e].

As the time of chusing Magistrates now drew on, and particularly of filling up the Colleges of Priests, in which there were many vacancies; fo Brutus was fending home many of his young Nobles to appear as Candidates at the election; the two Bibulus's, Domitius, Cato, Lentulus, whom he feverally recommends to Cicero's protection. Cicero was desirous that bis son also should come with them, to be elected a Priest; and wrote to Brutus, to know his mind about it; and if he thought proper, to fend him away immediately; for tho' he might be chosen in absence, yet his success would be much easier if he was present [f]. He touches this little affair in several of his Letters; but finding the public disorders increase still every day, he procured the election of Priests to be thrown off to the next year: and Brutus having fent him word in the mean while, that his fon had actually left bim, and was coming towards Rome, he instantly dispatched a messenger, to meet him on the road, with orders to fend him back again, tho' he found him landed in Italy: fince nothing, he fays, could be more agreeable either to bimfelf, or more bonorable to bis son, than bis continuance with Brutus [2].

Nor

[e] Ibid. 9. ablentis rationem haberi, tamen omnia sunt præsentibus dius, illi honestius. Quam-

[g] Ego autem, cum ad me de Ciceronis abs te dif- fumma contentione in altecessu scripsisses, statim ex- rum annum esse rejecta, &c,

ad Ciceronem ut etiam fi in [f] Sed quamvis liceat Italiam venisset, ad te rediret. Nihil enim mihi jucunfaciliora—ad Brut, ç. quam aliquoties ei scripseram, facerdotum comitia, mea srufi tabellarios, litterasque Ad Brut, 14. vid. it. 5, 6, 7.

A. Urb. 710. Nor long after the battel of Modena, the news of Dolabella's defeat, and death from Asia, brought a fresh occasion of joy to Cicero, and his friends at Rome. Dolabella, after his fuccess against Trebonius, having pillaged that Province of it's money, and of all things usefull for war, marched forward to execute his grand defign upon Syria; for which he had been making all this preparation: but Cassius was beforehand with him, and having got possession of that Country, and of all the armies in it, was much superior to him in force. Dolabella however made his way with some success through Cilicia, and came before Antioch in Syria, but was denied admittance into it; and after some vain attempts to take it, being repulsed with loss, marched to Laodicea; which had before invited, and now opened it's gates to him. Here Cassius came up with him, and presently invested the place: where, after he had destroyed Dolabella's fleet, in two or three naval engagements, he shut him up closely by sea, as well as land: till Dolabella, feeing no way to escape, and the Town unable to hold out any longer. killed himself, to prevent his falling alive into Cashus's bands, and fuffering the fame treatment, which he had shewn to Trebonius: but Cassius generously ordered his body to be buried, with that of his Lieutenant Octavius, who killed himself elso with bim [b].

> D. Brutus was now at last pursuing Antony, or rather observing the motions of his flight: he had with him, besides his own forces, the new Legions of the late Confuls, while all the Veterans put themselves under the command of

Octavius: fo that after Antony was joined by A. Urb. 710. Ventidius with three Legions, Brutus was hardly strong enough either to fight with him, or. what he rather aimed at, to hinder his croffing the Alps to Lepidus. He defired Cicero therefore, to write to Lepidus, not to receive him, though be was fure, he fays, that Lepidus would never do any thing that was right; and wishes likewife, that Cicero would confirm Plancus; fince by fome of Antony's papers, which fell into his hands, he perceived, that Antony had not lost all hopes of him; and thought himself sure of Lepidus and Pollio. Of which he gave Plancus immediate notice, and fignified, that he was coming forward with all expedition to join with him [i]. But he complains much in all his Letters, of his want of money, and the fad condition of his army; which was not contemptible for the number, but the kind of his troops; being for the most part, new raifed men, bare and needy of all things [k]. " I cannot, fays he, " maintain my foldiers any longer. When I " first undertook to free the Republic, I had " above three hundred thousand pounds of my " own in money: but am now fo far from ha-" ving any thing, that I have involved all my " friends in debt for me. I have seven Legi-" ons to provide for: consider with what diffi-

[i] In primis rogo te, ad hominem ventofissimum Lepidum mittas, ne bellum nobis redintegrare possit, Antonio sibi conjuncto — Mihi persuasissimum est, Lepidum recte sacturum nunquam—Plancum quoque confirmetis, oro; quem spero, pusso

Antonio, Reipub. non defu-

Antonius ad Lepidum proficiscitur, ne de Planco quidem spem adhuc abjecit, ut ex libellis suis animadverti, qui in me inciderunt. Ib. 11.

[k] Cum sim cum tironibus egentissimis. Ib. 19.

A. Urb. 710. " culty: had I the treasures of Varro, I could " not support the expence [1]." He defired therefore a prefent supply of money, and some Veteran Legions, especially the fourth and Martial, which continued still with Octavius. This was decreed to him readily by the Senate, at the motion of Drusus and Paulus, Lepidus's brother [m]: but Cicero wrote him word, "that all, who knew those Legions the best, affirm-" ed, that they would not be induced by any " terms to ferve under him: that money how-" ever should certainly be provided for him"and concludes by observing, "that if Lepidus " should receive Antony, it would throw them " again into great difficulties: but that it was "Brutus's part, to take care that they should " have no cause to fear the event: for as to " himself, that he could not possibly do more, " than he had already done: but wished to see "D. Brutus the greatest and most illustrious of " men [n]."

PLANCUS, as it is hinted above, was carrying on a negociation with Lepidus, to unite their forces against Antony: it was managed on Plancus's fide by Furnius; on Lepidus's, by

Laterensis.

[/] Alere jam milites non possum. Cum ad Rempub. Jiberandam accessi. H S. mihi fuit pecuniæ cccc amplius. Tantum abest ut meæ rei familiaris liberum fit quidquam, ut omnes jam meos amicos ære alieno obstrinxerim. Septenum numerum nunc legionum alo, qua difficultate, tu arbitrare. Non, si Varronis thefauros haberem, fubsistere sumptui possem. Ib.10.

[m] Ep. fam. xi. 19. [n] Legionem Martiam & quartem negant, qui illas norunt, ulla conditione ad te posse perduci. Pecuniæ, quam defideras, ratio potest haberi, eaque habebitur- ego plus quam feci, facere non possum. Te tamen, id quod spero, omnium maximum & clarissimum videre cupio. 1b.

Laterensis, one of his Lieutenants; a true friend A. Urb. 710. to the Republic, and zealous to engage his General to its interests; and Lepidus himself dissembled so well, as to persuade them of his sincerity; fo that Plancus was marching forward in great hafte to join with him; of which he gave Cicero a particular account.

PLANCUS to CICERO.

" AFTER I had written my Lettters, I' thought it of service to the public, that you " should be informed of what has since hap-" pened. My diligence, I hope, has been of use both to myself and to the Commonwealth: " for I have been treating with Lepidus by perof petual meffages; that laying afide all former " quarrels, he would be reconciled, and fuc-" cour the Republic in common with me, and " shew more regard to himself, his children, " and the City, than to a desperate abandoned " Robber; in which case he might depend on " my fervice and affiftance for all occasions: I " transacted the affair by Laterensis. He pawn-" ed his faith, that if he could not keep Anto-" ny out of his Province, he would pursue him " by open war; begged that I would come " and join forces with him, and fo much the " more, because Antony was said to be strong " in Horse; whereas Lepidus's could hardly be " called indifferent: for not many days before, " even out of his small number, ten, who were reckoned his best, came over to me. As foon as I was informed of this, I resolved without delay, to support Lepidus in the exff ecution of his good intentions: I faw, of what benefit my joining him would be, either " for pursuing and destroying Antony's Horse Vol. III.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

" with mine, or for correcting and reftraining, by the presence of my army, the corrupt and " difaffected part of Lepidus's. Having made " a bridge therefore in one day over the Isere, a very great river in the territory of the Allobroges, I paffed with my army on the twelfth of May: but having been informed that " L. Antony was fent before with fome Horse " and Cohorts to Forum Julii, I had fent my brother the day before with four thousand " Horse to meet with him, intending to follow " myself by great journeys with four Legions, " and the rest of my Horse, without the hea-" vy baggage. If we have any tolerable for-" tune for the Republic, we shall here put an end to the audaciousness of the desperate; " and to all our own trouble: but if the Rob-" ber, upon hearing of my arrival, should run " back again into Italy, it will be Brutus's part to meet with him there: who will not be " wanting, I know, either in counfil or cou-" rage: but if that should happen, I will send my brother also with the Horse, to follow " and preferve Italy from being ravaged by " him. Take care of your health, and love me " as I love you [o]."-

But Lepidus was acting all the while a treacherous part, being determined at all hazards to support Antony; and the he kept him at a distance for some time, and seemed to be constrained at last by his own soldiers to receive him; yet that was onely to save appearances, till he could do it with advantage and security to them both: his view in treating with Plancus was probably, to amuse and draw him so

near

near to them, that when he and Antony were A. Urb. 710. actually joined, they might force him into the fame measures, without his being able to help it, or to retreat from them. When he was upon the point therefore of joining camps with Antony, he fent word to Plancus, who was within forty miles of him, to stay where he then was, till he should come up to him: but Plancus, fuspecting nothing, thought it better still to march on; till Laterensis, perceiving how things were turning, wrote him word in all hafte, that neither Lepidus nor his army were to be trusted ; and that be bimself was deserted; " exhorting " Plancus to look to himfelf, left he should be "drawn into a Snare, and to perform his duty to the Republic; for that he had discharged " his faith, by giving him this warning, &c. « [p.]"

PLANCUS gave Cicero a particular account of all these transactions; he acquaints him, " that Lepidus and Antony joined their camps " on the twenty-eighth of May, and the same " day marched forward towards him: of all " which he knew nothing, till they were come " within twenty miles of him: that upon the " first intelligence of it, he retreated in all haste; " repassed the Isere, and broke down the bridges " which he had built upon it, that he might have leifure to draw all his forces together, " and join them with his Collegue D. Brurus, " whom he expected in three days-that Laterensis.

mittit mihi litteras, in eisque fallar: suam fidem solutam de Lepidi fide, querenque 21.

[p] At Laterenfie, vir fan- fe destitutum : in quibus actissimus, suo chirographo perte denunciat, videam ne desperans de se, de exercitu, esse Reipub. ne desim. Ib.

A. Urb. 710. "Laterensis, whose singular fidelity he should " ever acknowledge, when he found himself "duped by Lepidus, laid violent hands upon " himself; but being interrupted in the act, " was thought likely to live—he defires that " Octavius might be fent to him with his for-" ces; or if he could not come in person, that " his army however might be fent, fince his " interest was so much concerned in it—that " as the whole body of the rebels was now " drawn into one Camp, they ought to act a-" gainft them with the whole force of the Re-

" public, &c. [9].

THE day after his union with Antony, Lepidus wrote a short Letter to the Senate, wherein, " he calls the gods and men to witness, that " he had nothing so much at heart as the pub-" lic fafety and liberty; of which he should " fhortly have given them proofs had not for-" tune prevented him: for that his foldiers, by " a general mutiny and fedition, had plainly " forced him to take fo great a multitude of " Citizens under his protection. He beseeches " them, that laying aside all their private " grudges, they would consult the good of the " whole Republic; nor in a time of civil dif-" fention treat his clemency, and that of his " army, as criminal and traiterous [r]."

D. BRUTUS on the other hand joined his army with Plancus, who acted with him for some time with great concord, and the affection of the whole Province on their fide: which being fignified in their common Letters to Rome, gave great hopes still and courage to all the honest there. In a Letter of Plancus to Cicero, "you

"know.

"know, fays he, I imagine, the state of our A. Urb. 710. " forces: in my Camp there are three veteran Cic. 64. Legions, with one new, but the best of all others of that fort: in Brutus's, one veteran " Legion, another of two years standing, eight of new levies: fo that our whole army is great in number, little in strength: for what " fmall dependence there is in a fresh soldier, " we have oft experienced to our coft. If the " African troops, which are veteran, or Cæfar's " should join us, we should willingly put all " to the hazard of a battel: as I faw Cæfar's to be the nearest, so I have never ceased to " press him, nor he to affure me that he would " come instantly, tho' I perceive that he had " no fuch thought, and is quite gone off into " other measures: yet I have sent our friend " Furnius again to him, with Letters and in-" structions, if he can possibly do any good " with him. You know, my dear Cicero, that " as to the love of young Cæfar, it belongs to 46 me in common with you: for on the account " either of my intimacy with his uncle when " alive, it was necessary for me to protect and " cherish him; or because he himself, as far as " I have been able to observe, is of a most " moderate and gentle disposition; or that af-" ter so remarkable a friendship with C. Cæsar, " it would be a shame for me not to love him, " even as my own child, whom he had adopted " for his fon. But what I now write, I write

" tony now lives; that Lepidus is joined with " him; that they have no contemptible army; " that they have hopes, and dare pursue them ; " is all intirely owing to Cæsar. I will not re-" call what is long fince passed; but if he had

" out of grief, rather than ill-will: that An-

A. Urb. 710. " come at the time, when he himself declared " that he would, the war would have been ei-"ther now ended, or removed, to their great " disadvantage, into Spain, a Province utterly " averse to them. What motive, or whose coun-" fils drew him off from a part so glorious, " nay, so necessary too, and falutary to him-" felf, and turned him so absurdly to the " thoughts of a two months Confulship, to the " terror of all people, I cannot possibly com-" prehend. His friends feem capable of doing " much good on this occasion, both to himself and the Republic; and above all others, you; to whom he has greater obligations than any " man living, except myself; for I shall never forget that I am indebted to you for the " greatest. I have given order to Furnius to " treat with him on these affairs; and if I had " as much authority with him as I ought, " should do him great service. We in the mean. "time have a very hard part to fustain in the war: for we neither think it fafe to venture " a battel, nor yet by turning our backs, to " give the enemy an opportuity of doing greater mischief to the Republic: but if ei-" ther Cæsar would regard his honor, or the " African Legions come quickly, we shall make " you all eafy from this quarter. I beg you to " continue your affection to me, and affure " yourfelf that I am strictly yours [s]."

> Upon the news of Lepidus's union with Antony, the Senate, after some little time spent in confidering the effects of it, being encouraged by the concord of D. Brutus and Plancus, and depending on the fidelity of their united forces,

30

voted Lepidus an enemy, on the thirtieth of June; A. Urb. 710. and demolished the gilt statue, which they had lately erected to bim; reserving still a liberty to bim and bis adherents of returning to their duty by the first of September [t]. Lepidus's wife was M. Brutus's fifter; by whom he had fons, whose fortunes were necessarily ruined by this vote, which confiscated the Father's estate: for which reason Servilia, their grandmother, and Cassius's wife, their aunt, follicited Cicero very earnestly. either that the decree itself might not pass, or that the children should be excepted out of it: but Cicero could not confent to oblige them: for fince the first was thought necessary, the second followed of course: he gave Brutus however a particular account of the case by Letter.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

"Though I was just going to write to you " by Meffala Corvinus, yet I would not let our " friend Vetus come without a Letter. The "Republic, Brutus, is now in the utmost dan-" ger, and after we had conquered, we are " forced again to fight, by the perfidy and mad-" ness of M. Lepidus. On which occasion, when for the care, with which I have charged " myself, of the Republic, I had many things " to make me uneasy, yet nothing vexed me " more, than that I could not yield to the or prayers of your mother and fifter; for I ima-" gined, that I should easily satisfy you, on " which

[t] Lepidus tuus affinis, Repub. defecerunt: quibus meus familiaris prid. Kal. tamen ad fanitatem redeundi Quint. sententiis omnibus ante Kal. Sept. potellas facta hoftis a Senatu judicatus est; est. Ep. fam. 12. 10. cæterique qui una cum illo a

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

" which I lay the greatest stress. For Lepi-"dus's case could not by any means be distin-" guished from Antony's; nay, in all people's judgment, was even worse; since after he " had received the highest honors from the Se-" nate, and but a few days before had fent an excellent Letter to them; on a sudden, he " not only received the broken remains of our " enemies, but now wages a most cruel war a-" gainst us by land and sea; the event of which is wholly uncertain. When we are defired " therefore to extend mercy to his children, not " a word is faid, why, if their Father should or conquer, (which the Gods forbid) we are not " to expect the last punishment from him. " I am not ignorant how hard it is, that " Children should suffer for the crimes of their 66 Parents: but it was wifely contrived by the " laws, that the love of their Children should " make Parents more affectionate to their Coun-66 try. Wherefore it is Lepidus, who is cruel to his children, not he, who adjudges Lepi-"dus an enemy: for if, laying down his arms, " he were to be condemned onely of violence, " in which no defence could be made for him, his children would fuffer the same calamity by the confiscation of his estate. Yet what " your mother and fifter are now folliciting " against, in favour of the children, the very " fame and much worse, Lepidus, Antony, " and our other enemies are at this very mo-" ment threatening to us all. Wherefore our 66 greatest hope is in you and your army: it is " of the utmost consequence both to the Re-" public in general, and to your honor and " glory in particular, that, as I wrote to you " before, you come as foon as possible into

Italy: for the Republic is in great want not A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

" ferved Vetus with pleasure, as you desired me, for his singular benevolence and duty to

" you: I found him extremely zealous and affectionate both to you and the Republic: I

" shall see my Son, I hope, very soon; for I depend on his coming with you quickly to

" Italy [u]."

BRUTUS, before he had received this Letter, having heard from other friends, what they were designing at Rome against Lepidus, wrote about the same time, and on the same subject to Cicero.

BRUTUS to CICERO.

" OTHER people's fears oblige me to enter-" tain some apprehensions myself on Lepidus's " account: if he should withdraw himself from " us, (which will prove, I hope, a rash and " injurious fuspicion of him) I beg and befeech " you, Cicero, conjuring you by our friend-" ship and your affection to me, to forget, that " my fifter's children are Lepidus's fons, and " to consider me in the place of their Father. " If I obtain this of you, you will not scruple, "I am fure, to do whatever you can for them. " Other people live differently with their " friends: but I can never do enough for my " fifter's children, to fatisfy either my inclina-" tion or my duty. But what is there, in which " honest men can oblige me, (if in reality I " have deserved to be obliged in any thing) " or in which I can be of service to my mother, " fifter, and the boys; if their uncle Brutus A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

has not as much weight with you and the Senate, to protect, as their Father Lepidus, to hurt them? I feel fo much uneafiness and indignation, that I neither can, nor ought to write more fully to you: for if, in a cafe fo important and fo necessary, there could be aor ny occasion for words, to excite and confirm you, there is no hope that you will do what I wish, and what is proper. Do not expect therefore any long prayers from me: confider onely what I am: and that I ought to obtain " it; either from Cicero, a man the most inti-" mately united with me; or without regard to our private friendship, from a consular Sena-" tor of fuch eminence: pray fend me word, as " foon as you can, what you refolve to do. July " the first [x]."

CICERO perceiving from this Letter, what he had no notion of before, how great a stress Brutus laid on procuring this favor for his Nephews, prevailed with the Senate to suspend the execution of their act, as far as it related to them,

till the times were more fettled [y].

than a correspondence was set on sooner joined, than a correspondence was set on soot between them and Octavius; who, from the death of the Consuls, shewed but little regard to the authority of Cicero, or the Senate; and wanted onely a pretence for breaking with them. He waited however a while, to see what became of Antony; till finding himself received and supported by Lepidus, he began to think it his best scheme, to enter into the league with them; and to con-

cur,

[[]x] Ibid. 13. ex matris & ex fororis litteris
[y] Sororis tuæ filiis quam cogniturum, &c. ib. 15. it.
diligenter consulam, spero te 18.

Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

cur, in what feemed to be more peculiarly his own part, the defign of revenging the death of his Uncle. Instead therefore of prosecuting the war any farther, he was perfuaded by his friends. to make a demand of the Confulship, though he was not yet above twenty years old. This step shocked and terrified the City; not that the Confulfhip could give him any power, which his army had not already given; but as it indicated a dangerous and unfeafonable ambition, grounded on a contempt of the laws and the Senate; and above all, raised a just apprehension of some attempt against the public liberty: fince, instead of leading his army, where it was wanted and defired, against their enemies abroad, he chose to march with it towards Rome, as if he intended to subdue the Republic itself.

THERE was a report spread in the mean while through the Empire, that Cicero was chosen Consul: Brutus mentioning it in a Letter to him, fays, If I should ever see that day, I shall then begin to figure to myself the true form of a Republic, subsisting by its own strength [z]. It is certain, that he might have been declared Conful, by the unanimous fuffrage of the people, if he had defired it; but in times of fuch violence, the title of supreme Magistrate without a real power to support it, would have exposed him onely to more immediate danger and infults from the foldiers; whose fastidious insolence in their demands, was grown, as he complains, insupportable [a]. Some old writers say, what the

Confulem factum audivimus; tum vero incipiam proponere mihi Rempub. justam & iam fuis nitentem viribus, fi

[z] His litteris scriptis te isthuc videro. Ad Brut. 4. [a] Illudimur, Brute, cum militum deliciis, tum Imperatoris insolentia. Ib. 10.

A. Urb. 7 Cie. 64. the moderns take implicity from them, that he was duped, and drawn in by Octavius, to favor his pretentions to the Confulship, by the hopes of being made his Collegue, and governing him in the office [b]. But the contrary is evident from several of his Letters; and that of all men. he was the most averse to Octavius's design, and the most active in diffuading him from purfuing it. Writing upon it to Brutus; " as to " Cæfar, fays he, who has been governed hither-" to by my advice, and is indeed of an excel-"- lent disposition, and wonderful firmness, some " people, by most wicked Letters, messages, " and fallacious accounts of things, have pushed him to an affured hope of the Conful-" fhip: as foon as I perceived it, I never cea-" fed admonishing him in absence, nor re-" proaching his friends, who are present, and " who feem to encourage his ambition: nor did "I scruple to lay open the source of those trai-" terous counfils in the Senate: nor do I ever " remember the Senate and the Magistrates to " have behaved better on any occasion: for it " never happened before, in voting an extraor-"dinary honor to a powerful, or rather most " powerful man, (fince power is now meafu-" red by force and arms) that no Tribun, or " any other magistrate, nor so much as a pri-" vate Senator would move for it: yet in the " midst of all this firmness and virtue, the City " is greatly alarmed: for we are abused, Bru-" tus, both by the licentiousness of the foldiers, " and the insolence of the General. Every one "demands, to have as much power in the state, "as he has means to extort it: no reason, no

- " moderation, no law, no custom, no duty is at all regarded; no judgment or opinion of
- " the Citizens; no shame of posterity; &c.
- « [c]."

WHAT Cicero says in this Letter, is very re- A. Urb. 710. markable, that in all this beighth of young Cafar's power, there was not a Magistrate, nor so much as C. CESAR a fingle Senator, who would move for the decree OCTAVIAof bis Consulsbip: the demand of it therefore was NUS. made by a deputation of bis officers; and when Q. PEDIUS. the Senate received it more coldly than they expected, Cornelius, a Centurion, throwing back his robe and shewing them his sword, boldly declared, that if they would not make bim Conful, that should. But Octavius himself soon put an end to their scruples, by marching with his legions in an bostile manner to the City [d]; where he was chosen Consul with Q. Pedius, bis Kinsman, and coheir in part of his Uncle's estate, in the month of Sextilis, which, on the account of this fortunate beginning of his honors, was called afterwards from his own furname, Augustus [e].

THE first act of his Magistracy was, to secure all the public money, which he found in Rome, and make a dividend of it to his foldiers. He complained loudly of the Senate, " that

" instead

[c] Ad Brut. 10. [d] Consulatum vigesimo ztatis anno invasit, admotis hostiliter ad urbem legionibus, missique, qui sibi exercitus nomine deposcerent. Cum quidem cunctante Senatu, Cornelius Centurio, princeps legationis, rejecto sagulo, ostendens gladii ca-

pulum, non dubitasset in curia dicere; hic faciet, fi vos non feceritis. Sueton. Aug. c. 26.

[e] Sextilem mensem e suo cognomine nominavit, magis quam Septembrem, in quo erat natus, quia hoc fibi & primus Confulatus, &c. Suet. Aug. 31.

A. Urb. 710. 66
Cic. 64. 66
Coff. 66
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIANUS. 66
Q. PEDIUS. 66

instead of paying his army the rewards, which " they had decreed to them, they were contri-" ving to harrafs them with perpetual toils, and " to engage them in fresh wars against Lepidus " and Antony: and likewise, that in the com-" mission granted to ten Senators, to provide lands for the Legions after the war, they " had not named him [f]." But there was no just ground for any such complaints; for those rewards were not decreed, nor intended to be distributed, till the war was quite ended; and the leaving Cæfar out of the commission, was not from any particular flight, but a general exception of all, who had the command of armies, as improper to be employed in fuch a charge; though Cicero indeed was of a different opinion, and pressed for their being taken in. D. Brutus and Plancus were excluded as well as Cæfar: and both of them feem likewife to have been difgusted at it; so that CICERO, who was one of the number, in order to retrieve the imprudence of a step, which gave such offence, would not suffer his Collegues to do any thing of moment, but reserved the whole affair to the arrival of Casar and the rest [g].

But Cæsar, being now wholly bent on changing sides and measures, was glad to catch at every occasion of quarrelling with the Senate: he charged them, with calling bim a boy, and treat.

ing

[6] Cum ego fenfissem, de iis qui exercitus haberent, senteutiam ferri oportere, iidem illi, qui folent, reelamarunt. Itaque excepti etiam estis, me vehementer re-

pugnante — itaque cum quidam de Collegis nostris agrariam curationem ligurirent, disfurbavi rem, totamque integram vobis reservavi. Epu fam. zi. 21. it. 20, 23. ing bim as such [b]; and found a pretext also A. Urb. 710. against Cicero himself, whom, after all the fervices received from him, his present views o- C. CASAR bliges him to abandon: for fome bufy informers Octaviahad told him, that Cicero bad spoken of bim in NUS. certain ambiguous terms, which carried a double Q. PEDIUS. meaning, either of advanting, or taking him off -which Octavius was defirous to have reported every where, and believed in the worst fense. D. Brutus gave Cicero the first notice of it in the following Letter.

D. BRUTUS, Emperor, Conful Elect to M. T. CICERO.

What I do not feel on my own account, my love and obligations to you make me feel on yours; that is, fear. For after I had been often told, what I did not wholly flight, Labeo Segulius, a man always like himself, " just now informs me, that he has been with * Cæfar, where there was much discourse on vou: that Cæsar himself had no other comof plaint against you, but for a certain faying, which he declared to have been spoken by you; that the young man was to be praised, adorned, taken off [i]; but he would not be " fo filly, he faid, as to put it into any man's " power to take bim off. This, I dare fay, was first carried to him, or forged by Segulius himself, and did not come from the young " man. Segulius had a mind likewife to perfuade me, that the Veterans talk most angri-

et. Aug. 12.

[i] Laudandum, adolef- nors, or take away life. centem, ornandum, tollen-

[b] Dio. 1. 46. 318. Su- dum. Which last word fignifies, either to raife to boA. Urb. 1710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIANUS.
Q. PEDIUS.

" ly against you; and that you are in danger from them; and that the chief cause of their anger is, because neither Cæsar nor I am in the commission of the ten, but all things transacted by your will and pleasure: upon hearing this, though I was then upon my march, I did not think it proper to pass the

" Alps, till I could first learn, how matters were going amongst you, &c. [k]."

To this CICERO answered:

"THE Gods confound that Segulius, the s greatest knave, that is, or was, or ever will " be. What, do you imagine, that he told " his story only to you, and to Cæsar? he told " the fame to every foul, that he could speak " with: I love you, however, my Brutus, as "I ought; for acquainting me with it, how " trifling foever it be: 'tis a fure fign of your " affection. For as to what Segulius fays, of " the complaint of the Veterans, because you " and Cæsar were not in the commission: I " wish, that I was not in it myself; for what " can be more troublesome? but when I propo-" fed, that those, who had the command of " armies, should be included in it; the same " men, who used to oppose every thing, re-" monstrated against it; so that you were ex-" cepted, wholly against my vote and opinion, " &c. [1]."

As for the story of the words, he treats it, we see, as too contemptible to deserve an apology, or the pains of disclaiming it; and it seems indeed incredible, that a man of his prudence could ever say them. If he had harboured such a thought, or had been tempted on any occasion

to throw out such a hint, we might have expect- A. Urb. 710. ed to find it in his Letters to Brutus; yet on the highly advantageous, even where he was likely Octaviato give difgust by it. But nothing was more NUS. common, than to have sayings forged for bis, Q. Papive. which he had never spoken; and this was one of that fort; contrived to instil a jealousy into Octavius, or to give him a handle at least for breaking with Cicero, which, in his present circumstances he was glad to lay hold of: and when the story was once become public, and supposed to have gained credit with Octavius, it is not strange to find it taken up by the writers of the following ages, Velleius and Suetonius; though not without an intimation from the latter of its fuspected credit [m].

WHILE the City was in the utmost consternation on Cæfar's approach with his army, two Veteran Legions from Afric happened to arrive in the Tiber, and were received as a succour sent to them from heaven: but this joy lasted not long; for presently after their landing, being corrupted by the other foldiers, they deferted the Senate, who fent for them, and joined themfelves to Cæfar. Pollio likewife, about the fame time, with two of his best Legions from Spain, came to the affiftance of Antony and Lepidus: fo that all the Veterans of the western part of the Empire were now plainly forming themselves into one body, to revenge the death of their old General. The consent of all these armies, and the unexpected turn of Antony's affairs, staggered the fidelity of Plancus, and induced him also at last, to desert his Collegue D. VOL. III. Brutus.

[m] Vell. Pat. 2. 62. Sueton. Aug. c. 12.

Cic. 64.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coff. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIA-NUS, Q. PEDIUS.

Brutus, with whom he had hitherto acted with much feeming concord: Pollio made his peace, and good terms for him with Antony and Lepidus; and foon after brought him over to their

Camp with all his troops.

D. BRUTUS being thus abandoned and left to shift for himself, with a needy, mutinous army; eager to defert, and ready to give him up to his enemies; had no other way to fave himself, than by flying to his name-fake in Macedonia: but the distance was so great, and the country so guarded, that he was often forced to change his road, for fear of being taken; till having difmiffed all his attendants, and wandered for some time alone in disguise and distress, he committed himself to the protection of an old acquaintance and hoft, whom he had formerly obliged; where, either through treachery or accident, he was furprized by Antony's foldiers, who immediately killed him, and returned with his head to their General [n].

SEVERAL of the old writers have reproached his memory with a shameful cowardice in the manner of fuffering his death; unworthy of the man who had killed Cæfar, and commanded armies. But their accounts are so various, and fo inconfistent with the character of his former life, that we may reasonably suspect them to be forged by those, who were disposed to throw all kinds of contumely on the murtherers of Cafar

[0].

Bur what gave the greatest shock to the whole Republican party, was a law contrived by Cæfar, and published by his Collegue Pedius,

[n] Vell. Pat. 2. 64. App. [o] Senec. Ep. 82. 543. 1. 3. 588. Max. 9. 13. Dio. 1. 46. 325. Val.

Coff.

Q. PEDIUS!

to bring to trial and justice all those, who had been A. Urb. 710. concerned, either in advising, or effecting Casar's death: in consequence of which, all the conspi- C. Casar rators were prefently impeached in form by dif- Octaviaferent accusers; and as none of them ventured to appear to their citations, they were all condemned of course; and by a second law interdicted from fire and water: Pompey also, though he had born no part in that act, was added to the number, as an irreconcileable enemy to the Casarian cause: after which, Casar, to make amends for the unpopularity of his law, diftributed to the Citizens the Legacies which his Uncle bad left them by will [p].

CICERO foresaw, that things might possibly take this turn, and Plancus himself prove treacherous; and for that reason was constantly pressing Brutus and Cassius to basten to Italy, as the most effectual means to prevent it: every ftep that Cæsar took, confirmed his apprehenfions, and made him more importunate with them to come, especially after the union of Antony and Lepidus. In his Letters to Brutus, " fly to us, fays he, I befeech you, and ex-" hort Cassius to the same; for there is no hope

" have any regard for the Republic, for which " you were born, you must do it instantly; for

" of liberty but from your troops [q]. If you

"the war is renewed by the inconstancy of Le-" pidus; and Cæfar's army, which was the

" best, is not onely of no service to us, but

" even obliges us to call for your's: as foon as R 2

[p] App. 1. 3. 586. Dio. litteras Cassium. Spes liber-46. 322.

tatis nusquam nifi in vestro-[9] Quamobrem advola, rum castrorum principiis est. obsecro-hortare idem per Ad Brut. 10,

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coff. C. CESAR OCTAVIA-Q. Papius.

" ever you touch Italy, there is not a man, " whom we can call a Citizen, who will not " immediately be in your Camp. We have D. " Brutus indeed happily united with Plancus: "but you are not ignorant, how changeable " mens minds are, and how infected with party, " and how uncertain the events of war: nay, " should we conquer, as I hope we shall, there " will be a want of your advice and authority to

" fettle all affairs. Help us therefore for God's " fake; and as foon as possible; and assure " yourself, that you did not do a greater ser-" vice to your Country on the Ides of March,

" when you freed it from flavery, than you will " do by coming quickly [r]".

AFTER many remonstrances of the fame kind, he wrote also the following Letter.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

" After I had often exhorted you by Letters, to " come as foon as possible to the relief of the Re-" public, and bring your army into Italy, and ne-" ver imagined, that your own people had any " fcruples about it; I was defired by that most " prudent and diligent woman, your Mother, " all whose thoughts and cares are employed on " you, that I would come to her on the twenty " fourth of July; which I did, as I ought, " without delay. When I came, I found Caf-" ca, Labeo, and Scaptius with her. She pre-" fently entered into the affair, and asked my opinion, whether we should send for you to

Deos idque quam primum; plus profuisse patrize, quam, tibique persuade, non te Idi- si mature veneris, profutubus Martiis, quibus servitu- rum. Ib. 14.

[r] Subveni igitur, per tem a tuis civibus repulisti,

" Italy; and whether I thought it best for you A. Urb. 710. " to come, or to continue abroad. I declared, " what I took to be the most for your honor C. CESAR " and reputation, that without loss of time you " should bring present help to the tottering and Q PEDIUS. " declining state. For what mischief may not " one expect from that war, where the con-" quering armies refused to pursue a flying ene-" my? where a General unhurt, unprovoked, " poffeffed of the highest honors, and the " greatest fortunes, with a wife, children, and " near relation to you, has declared war against " the Commonwealth? I may add, where in " fo great a concord of the Senate and People, " there refides still so much disorder within the " walls; but the greatest grief which I feel, " while I am now writing, is to reflect, that " when the Republic had taken my word for a " youth, or rather a boy, I shall hardly have it " in my power, to make good what I promised " for him. For it is a thing of much greater " delicacy and moment, to engage onesfelf for " another's fentiments and principles, especial-" ly in affairs of importance, than for money: " for money may be paid, and the loss itself " be tolerable: but how can you pay what you " are engaged for to the Republic, unless he, " for whom you ftand engaged, will fuffer it to " be paid? yet I am still in hopes to hold him; " though many are plucking him away from " me : for his disposition seems good, though " his age be flexible; and many always at " hand to corrupt him; who, by throwing in " his way the splendor of false honor, think " themselves sure of dazzling his good sense " and understanding. Wherefore to all my o-" ther labours this new one is added, of fetting R 3

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. Cæsar
Octavianus,
Q. Pedius.

" all engines at work to hold fast the young " man, left I incur the imputation of rashness. "Though what rashness is it after all? for in " reality, I bound him for whom I was enga-" ged, more strongly than myself: nor has the "Republic as yet any cause to repent, that I " was his fponfor: fince he has hitherto been " the more firm and conftant in acting for us, as well from his own temper, as for my pro-" mife. The greatest difficulty in the Repub-" lic, if I mistake not, is the want of money: 46 for honest men grow every day more and " more averse to the name of Tribute; and " what was gathered from the hundredth penny, where the rich are shamefully rated, is all 66 spent in rewarding the two Legions. There is an infinite expence upon us, to support the " armies, which now defend us; and also yours; for our Cassius seems likely to come sufficient-" ly provided. But I long to talk over this, " and many other things with you in person; and that quickly. As to your fifter's chil-" dren I did not wait, Brutus, for your writing to me: the times themselves, fince the " war will be drawn into length, referve the whole affair to you: but from the first, when " I could not foresee the continuance of the war, " I pleaded the cause of the children in the Se-" nate, in a manner, which you have been in-" formed of, I guess by your mother's Letters: nor can there ever be any case, where " I will not both fay and do, even at the hazard of my life, whatever I think agreeable " either to your inclination, or to your interest. "The twenty-fixth of July [s]."

In a Letter likewise to Cassius, he says, A. Urb. 710. we wish to see you in Italy, as soon as possible; and shall imagine, that we have recovered C. CESAR. the Republic, when we have you with us. We OCTAVIA-" had conquered nobly, if Lepidus had not NUS, " received the routed, difarmed, fugitive, An-"tony: wherefore Antony himself was never " fo odious to the City, as Lepidus is now:

" for he began a war upon us from a turbulent " state of things; this man from peace and vi-" ctory. We have the Confuls elect to oppose

" him: in whom indeed we have great hopes; " yet not without an anxious care for the un-

certain events of battels. Affure yourfelf there-" fore, that all our dependance is on you, and

vour Brutus; that you are both expected,

" but Brutus immediately, &c. [t]."

But after all these repeated remonstrances of Cicero, neither Brutus nor Cassius seem to have entertained the leaft thought of coming with their armies to Italy. Cassius indeed, by being more remote, could not come fo readily, and was not fo much expected as Brutus; who, before the battel of Modena, had drawn down all his legions to the sea-coast, and kept them at Apollonia and Dyrrbachium, waiting the event of that action, and ready to embark for Italy, if any accident had made his affiftance necessary; for which Cicero highly commends him [u]. upon the news of Antony's defeat, taking all the danger to be over, he marched away directly to the remotest parts of Greece and Macedonia, to R 4 oppole .

[t] Ep. fam. 12. 10. [u] Tuum confilium vehementer laudo, quod non ti eruptione, populi Romaprius exercitum Apollonia ni victoria. Ad Brut. 2.

Dyrrhachioque movisti, quam de Antonii fuga audisti, Bru-

Cic. 64. Q PEDIUS. A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. Cæsar
OctaviaNus,
Q. Pedius.

oppose the attempts of Dolabella; and from that time feemed deaf to the call of the Senate. and to all Cicero's letters, which urged him fo strongly to come to their Relief. It is difficult at this distance to penetrate the motives of his conduct: he had a better opinion of Lepidus, than the rest of his party had; and being naturally positive, might affect to slight the apprehensions of Lepidus's treachery, which was the chief ground of their calling so earnestly for him. But he had other reasons also, which were thought to be good; fince some of his friends at Rome, as we may collect from Cicero's Letter, were of a different mind from Cicero, on the subject of his coming. They might fuspect the fidelity of his troops; and that they were not fufficiently confirmed and attached to him, to be trufted in the field against the Veterans in Italy; whose example and invitation, when they came to face each other, might possibly induce them to defert, as the other armies had done, and betray their commanders. But whatever was their real motive, D. Brutus, who was the best judge of the state of things at home, was intirely of Cicero's opinion: he faw himself surrounded with Veteran armies, disaffected to the cause of liberty; knew the perfidy of Lepidus; the ambition of young Cæsar; and the irresolution of his Collegue Plancus; and admonished Cicerotherefore in all his Letters, to urge his namefake to haften his march to them [x]. So that on the whole, it feems reasonable to believe, that if Brutus and Cassius had marched with their armies

vatis litteris ad bellum commune vocare non defino. Ep. fam. xi. 25. it. 26.

[[]x] De Bruto autem nihil adhuc certi. Quem ego, quemadmodum præcipis, pri-

armies towards Italy, at the time when Cicero A. Urb. 710, first pressed it, before the desection of Plancus, and the death of Decimus, it must have pre- C. CESAR vented the immediate ruin of the Republic.

THE want of money, of which Cicero com- NUS, plains at this time, as the greatest evil that they had to struggle with, is expressed also very strongly in another Letter to Cornificius, the Proconful of Afric; who was urging him to provide a fund for the support of his Legions:

" As to the expence, fays he, which you have " made, and are making in your military pre-" parations, it is not in my power to help you; " because the Senate is now without a head, by " the death of the Confuls, and there is an in-" credible fcarcity of money in the treasury; " which we are gathering however from all " quarters, to make good our promifes to the " troops, that have deserved it of us; which " cannot be done in my opinion without a tri-" bute [y]." This tribute was a fort of capitation tax, proportioned to each man's fubstance, but had been wholly difused in Rome, from the conquest of Macedonia by Paulus Æmilius, which furnished money and rents sufficient to ease the city ever after of that burthen, till the necessity of the present times obliged them to renew it [2]. But from what Cicero intimates

[y] De fumtu, quem te in rem militarem facere & fecisse dicis, nihil sane possum tibi opitulari, propterea quod & orbus Senatus, Consulibus amiffis, & incredibiles anguttiæ pecuniæ publicæ, &c. Ep. fam. 12. 30.

[z] At Perse Rege devi-

cto Paullus, cum Macedonicis opibus veterem atque hereditariam Urbis nostræ paupertatem eo usque satiasset, ut illo tempore primum populus Romanus tributi præstandi onere se liberaret. -Val. Max. 4. 3. it. Plin. Hift. N. 33. 3.

Cic. 64. Coff. OCTAVIA-Q. PEDIUS. A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. Cæsar
OctaviaNus,
Q Pedius.

of the general aversion to the revival of it, one cannot help observing the fatal effects of that indolence and luxury, which had infected even the honest part of Rome: who, in this utmost exigency of the Republic, were shocked at the very mention of an extraordinary tax; and would not part with the least share of their money, for the defence even of their liberty: the confequence of which was, what it must always be in the like case, that by starving the cause, they found not only their fortunes, but their lives also foon after at the mercy of their enemies. Cicero has a reflection in one of his speeches, that feems applicable also to the present case, and to be verified by the example of these times. "The Republic, fays he, is attacked always " with greater vigor, than it is defended: for " the audacious and profligate, prompted by " their natural enmity to it, are eafily impel-" led to act upon the least nod of their leaders: "whereas the honest, I know not why, are " generally flow and unwilling to ftir; and neglecting always the beginnings of things, " are never roused to exert themselves, but by

"the last necessity: so that through irresolution and delay, when they would be glad to compound at last for their quiet, at the expence even of their honor, they commonly lose

"them both [a]."

This observation will serve to vindicate the conduct of Cassius, from that charge of violence and cruelty, which he is said to have practised, in exacting money and other necessaries from the Cities of Asia. He was engaged in an inexpiable war, where he must either conquer, or peach

rish

rish with the Republic itself, and where his Le- A. Urb. 710. gions were not only to be supported but rewarded: the revenues of the Empire were ex- C. C. ESAR hausted; contributions came in sparingly; and OCTAVIAthe states abroad were all desirous to stand neu- NUS, ter; as doubtful of the iffue, and unwilling to Q. PEDIUS. offend either fide. Under these difficulties where money was necessary, and no way of procuring it but force, extortion became lawful; the neceffity of the end justified the means; and when the fafety of the Empire, and the liberty of Rome were at stake, it was no time to listen to scruples This was Cassius's way of reasoning, and the ground of his acting; who applied all his thoughts to support the cause, that he had undertaken; and kept his eyes, as Appian fays, wholly fixt upon the war, as a Gladiator upon his Antagonist [b].

BRUTUS, on the other hand, being of a temper more mild and scrupulous, contented himfelf generally with the regular methods of raising money; and from his love of Philosophy, and the politer studies, having contracted an affection for the Cities of Greece, instead of levying contributions, used to divert himself, whereever he passed, with seeing their games and exercises, and presiding at their philosophical disputations; as if travelling rather for curiofity, than to provide materials for a bloody war [c]. When he and Cassius therefore met, the difference of their circumstances shewed the different effects

Cic. 64.

of

^[6] O & Kaari G aus-[c] O 3 BoxT &, om xif-POLTO, 2) PINO Seduar no 2) PI-नवडम्बनी, म्य अवंगान् दंड में केंग्रा-Anxo , are i oldorophous VISHV OF MOVOMEN XXVTES, ES μόνον τ πόλεμον αφεώρα. en a jerros. Ibid. App. 1. 4. 667.

Cic. 64. C. CESAR OCTAVIA-NUS. Q. PEDIUS.

A. Urb. 710. of their conduct. Cassius, without receiving a penny from Rome, came rich and amply furnished with all the stores of war; Brutus, who had received large remittances from Italy, came empty and poor, and unable to support himself without the help of Cassius; who was forced to give him a third part of that treasure, which he had been gathering with fo much envy to himself for the

common fervice [d].

WHILE Cicero was taking all this pains, and struggling thus gloriously in the support of their expiring liberty, Brutus, who was naturally peevish and querulous, being particularly chagrined by the unhappy turn of affairs in Italy, and judging of counfils by events, was disposed at last to throw all the blame upon him; charging him chiefly, that, by a profusion of bonors on young Casar, he had inspired him with an ambition, incompatible with the fafety of the Republic, and armed him with that power, which he was now employing to oppress it: whereas the truth is, that by those honors Cicero did not intend to give Cæfar any new power, but to apply that, which he had acquired by his own vigor, to the public fervice and the ruin of Antony: in which he fucceeded even beyond expectation; and would certainly have gained his end, had he not been prevented by accidents, which could not be foreseen. For it is evident from the facts above-mentioned, that he was always jealous of Cæfar, and instead of increasing, was contriving some check to his authority, till by the death of the Confuls, he flipt out of his hands, and became too ftrong to be managed by him any longer. Brutus, by being at fuch a distance, was not well apprized of the particular A. Urb. 710. grounds of granting those honors; but Decimus, who was all the while in Italy, faw the use and C. CESAR necessity of them, and seems to hint in some of Octaviahis Letters, that they ought to have decreed still NUS, Q. PEDIUS.

greater |e].

But whatever Brutus, or any one else may have faid, if we reflect on Cicero's conduct, from the time of Cæfar's death to his own, we shall find it in all respects uniform, great and glorious; never deviating from the grand point, which he had in view, the liberty of his country: whereas, if we attend to Brutus's, we cannot help observing in it, something strangely various and inconfistent with itself. In his outward manners and behaviour, he affected the rigor of a Stoic, and the feverity of an old Roman; yet by a natural tenderness and compassion, was oft betrayed into acts of an effeminate weakness. To restore the liberty of his country, he killed his Friend and Benefactor; and declares, that for the same cause be would have killed even his Father [f]: yet he would not take Antony's life, though it was a necessary facrifice to the fame cause. When Dolabella had basely murthered Trebonius, and Antony openly approved the act, he could not be perfuaded to make reprifals on C. Antony: but through a vain oftentation of clemency, fuffered him to live, though with danger to himself. When his brother in law Lepidus

[e] Mirabiliter, mi Brute, lætor, mea confilia, measque sententias a te probari, de Decemviris, de ornando adolescente. Ep. fam. xi. 14. it. 20.

[f] - Non concesserim, quod in illo non tuli, sed ne patri quidem meo, si revivifcat, ut, patiente me, plus legibus ac Senatu posit. [ad Brut. 16.] sed dominum, ne parentem quidem, majores nostri voluerunt esse. [ib. 17.]

Cic. 64. Coff. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIA-NUS. Q. PEDIUS.

A. Urb. 710. Lepidus was declared an enemy, he expressed an absurd and peevish resentment of it, for the sake of his nephews, as if it would not have been in his power to have repaired their fortunes, if the Republic was ever restored; or if not, in their Father's. How contrary is this to the spirit of that old Brutus, from whom he derived his defcent, and whom in his general conduct he pretended to imitate? He blames Cicero for dispenfing bonors too largely, yet claims an infinite share of them to himself; and when he had seized by his private authorty, what the Senate, at Cicero's motion confirmed to him, the most extraordinary command, which had been granted to any man; he declares himself an enemy to all extraordinary commissions, in what hands soever they were lodged [g]: this inconfiftency in his character would tempt us to believe, that he was governed in many cases by the pride and haughtiness of his temper, rather than by any constant and settled Principles of Philosophy, of which he is commonly thought so strict an obferver.

> CICERohowever, notwithstanding the peevishness of Brurus, omitted no opportunity of serving and supporting him to the very last: as foon as he perceived Cæfar's intention of revenging his Uncle's death, he took all imaginable pains to diffuade him from it, and never ceafed from exhorting him by Letters to a reconciliation with Brutus, and the observance of that amnefty, which the Senate had decreed, as the foundation of the public peace. This was certainly

[[]g] Ego certe—cum ipsa ordinariis & dominatione & re bellum geram, hoc est potentia.—Ad Brut. 17. cum regno, & imperiis extra-

Cic. 64.

the best service, which he could do, either to A. Urb. 710. Brutus, or the Republic; and Atticus imagining, that Brutus would be pleafed with it, fent C. C. SAR him a copy of what Cicero had written on that OCTAVIAfubject: but instead of pleasing, it provoked NUS. Brutus onely the more: he treated it as base and Q. PEDIUS. dishonourable, to ask any thing of a boy, or to imagine the fafety of Brutus to depend on any one but himself: and fignified his mind upon it. both to Cicero and Atticus in fuch a stile, as confirms what Cicero had long before observed, and more than once declared of him, that his Letters were generally churlish, unmannerly and arrogant; and that be regarded neither what, or to whom he was writing [b]. But their own Letters to each other will be the best vouchers of what I have been remarking, and enable us to form the furest judgment of the different spirit and conduct of the men. After Brutus therefore had frequently intimated his diffatisfaction and dislike of Cicero's management, Cicero took occasion, in the following Letter, to lay open the whole progress of it, from the time of Cæfar's death, in order to shew the reasonableness and necessity of each step.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

"You have MESSALA now with you. It " is not possible therefore for me to explain by " Letter, though ever fo accurately drawn, the or present state of our affairs so exactly as he, "who not onely knows them all more perfect-" ly, but can describe them more elegantly than " any man: for I would not have you imagine,

" Brutus, (though there is no occasion to tell

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. Cæsar
OctaviaNus,
Q. Pedius.

" you, what you know already yourfelf, but " that I cannot pass over in silence such an ex-" cellence of all good qualities:) I would not " have you imagine, I fay, that for probity, " constancy, and zeal for the Republic, there " is any one equal to him; fo that eloquence, of in which he wonderfully excells, scarce finds " a place among his other praises: fince even in that, his wisdom shines the most eminent, by his having formed himself with so much " judgment and skill to the truest manner of " fpeaking. Yet his industry all the while is " fo remarkable, and he spends so much of his " time in study, that he seems to owe but little " to his parts, which still are the greatest. But " I am carried too far by my love for him: for it is not the purpose of this Epistle to praise " Messala, especially to Brutus, to whom his " virtue is not less known, than to myself; " and these very studies, which I am praising, " still more: whom when I could not part with " without regret, I comforted myself with re-" flecting, that by his going away to you, as it " were, to my fecond felf, he both discharged " his duty, and purfued the furest path to glo-" ry. But so much for that [i]. I come now,

[i] Publius Valerius Meffala Corvinus, of whom Cicero here gives fo fine a character, was one of the noblest as well as the most accomplished persons of his age, who lived long afterwards the general favorite of all parties, and a principal ornament of Augustus's court. Being in arms with Brutus, he was proscribed of course

by the Triumvirate, yet was excepted foon after by a special edict; but resused the benefit of that grace, and adhered to the cause of liberty, till he saw it expire with his friend. After the battle of Philippi, the troops that remained, freely offered themselves to his command; but he chose to accept peace, to which he was invited

after a long interval, to consider a certain Let- A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. ter of yours, in which, while you allow me

" to have done well in many things, you find C. CESAR " fault with me for one; that in conferring Octavia-

"honors, I was too free, and even prodigal. NUS,

You charge me with this; others probably, Q. PEDIUS. " with being too severe in punishing, or you

" yourself perhaps with both: if so, I desire " that my judgement and fentiments on each

" may be clearly explaned to you: not that I VOL. III.

invited by the Conquerors, and furrendered himself to Antony, with whom he had particular acquaintance. When Cæfar was defeated not long after by S. Pompey on the coast of Sicily, being in the utmost distress and danger of life, he committed himself with one domestic to the fidelity of Messala; who instead of revenging himself on one, who had so lately proscribed and set a price upon his head, generously protected and preserved him. friendship of Antony, till the scandal of Antony's life, and flavish obsequiousness to Cleopatra, threw him wholly into the interests of Cæsar, by whom he was declared Conful in Antony's place, greatly intrusted in the battel of Actium; and honored at last with a triumph, for reducing the rebellious Gauls to their obedience. He is celebrated by all writers, as one of the first orators of Rome; and having been the disciple of Cicero, was 3. 21. Plin. Hist, N. 7. 24.

thought by fome to excell even his mafter, in the fweetness and correctness of his ftile; preferving always a dignity, and demonstrating his nobility, by the very manner of his speaking. To the perfection of his eloquence he had added all the accomplishments of the other liberal arts; was a great admirer of Socrates, and the severer studies of Philosophy, yet an eminent Patron of all the Wits and Poets of those times. Tibullus was the constant He continued still in the companion of all his foreign expeditions, which he celebrates in his Elegies; and Horace in one of his odes, calls for his choicest wines, for the entertainment of fo noble a guest. Yet this polite and amiable man, impaired by fickness, and worn out at last by age, is said to have outlived his fenses and memory, till he had forgotten even his very name. See App. p. 611, 736. Tacit. Dial. 18. Quintil. x. 1. Tibul. Eleg. lib. 1. 7. Hor. Carm. A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIANUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

"mean to justify myself by the authority of Solon, the wisest of the seven, and the onely Legislator of them all; who used to say, that the public weal was comprized in two things, "rewards and punishments; in which however, as in every thing else, a certain medium and

"temperament is to be observed. But it is not my design at this time to discuss so great a subject: I think it proper onely, to open the reasons of my votes and opinions in the Se-

inate, from the beginning of this war. After the death of Cæfar, and those your memora-

ble Ides of March, you cannot forget, Brutus, what I declared to have been omitted by you, and what a tempest I foresaw hanging over the Republic: you had freed us from a great

" plague; wiped off a great stain from the Ro" man people; acquired to yourselves divine

"glory: yet all the equipage and furniture of Kingly power was left still to Lepidus and "Antony; the one inconstant, the other vici-

ous; both of them afraid of peace, and enemies to the public quiet. While these men
were eager to raise fresh disturbances in the

Republic, we had no guard about us to oppose them; though the whole City was eager and unanimous in afferting it's liberty:

" I was then thought too violent; while you perhaps more wifely withdrew yourselves from that City, which you had delivered,

" and refused the help of all Italy, which offered to arm itself in your cause. Wherefore

"when I saw the City in the hands of traitors, oppressed by the arms of Antony, and that

"neither you nor Cassius could be safe in it; I thought it time for me to quit it too: for a

City overpowered by traitors, without the

es means of relieving itself, is a wretched spe- A. Urb. 710. " Ctacle: Yet my mind, always the fame, and ever fixed on the love of my Country, could C. C. ESAR not bear the thought of leaving it in it's diftress: in the midft therefore of my voyage to " Greece, and in the very season of the Etesian winds, when an uncommon South wind, as if displeased with my resolution, had driven " me back to Italy, I found you at Velia, and was greatly concerned at it: for you were retreating, Brutus; were retreating, I fay; fince your Stoics will not allow their wife man " to fly. As foon as I came to Rome, I expoled mylelf to the wickedness and rage of " Antony; and when I had exasperated him against me, began to enter into measures, in the very manner of the Brutus's, (for fuch are peculiar to your blood) for delivering the Republic. I shall omit the long recital of " what followed, fince it all relates to myfelf; and observe onely, that young Cæsar, by whom, if we will confess the truth, we sub-" fift at this day, flowed from the source of my counfils. I decreed him no honors, Brutus, but what were due; none but what were neceffary: for as foon as we began to recover any liberty, and before the virtue of D. Brutus had vet shewn itself so far, that we could know it's divine force; and while our whole defence was in the boy, who repelled Antony from our necks; what honor was not really due to him? though I gave him nothing yet, but the praise of words; and that but moderate. I decreed him indeed a legal command: which, though it feemed honor-" able to one of that age, was yet necessary to one, who had an army : for what is an army without

Cic. 64. Coff. OCTAVIA-Q. PEDIUS.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIANUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

without the command of it? Philip voted " him a statue; Servius the privilege of suing " for offices before the legal time; which was " shortened still by Servilius: nothing was then thought too much: but we are apt, I know, not how, to be more liberal in fear, than gratefull in fuccess. When D. Brutus was delivered from the fiege, a day of all others " the most joyous to the City, which happened also to be his birth day, I decreed, that " his name should be ascribed for ever to that "day, in the public Kalendars. In which I " followed the example of our ancestors, who " paid the same honor to a woman, Larentia; " at whose altar you Priests perform sacred rites " in the Velabrum: by giving this to D, Bru-" tus, my defign was, to fix in the Kalendars " a perpetual memorial of a most acceptable " victory: but I perceived on that day, that " there was more malevolence than gratitude, in many of the Senate. During these same " days, I poured out honors (fince you will have " it so) on the deceased Hirtius, Pansa and A-" quila: and who can find fault with it, but those, who, when fear is once over, forget " their past danger? But besides the gratefull " remembrance of services, there was an use in it, which reached to posterity: for I was de-" firous, that there should remain an eternal " monument of the public hatred to our most " cruel enemies. There is one thing I doubt, which does not please you; for it does not " please your friends here; who, though ex-" cellent men, have but little experience in public affairs; that I decreed an ovation to "Cæsar: but for my part, (though I may per-" haps be mistaken, for I am not one of " those, 100 drive

those, who approve nothing, but what is A. Urb. 710. " my own;) I cannot but think, that I have ad-" vised nothing more prudent during this war. C. CESAR Why it is so, is not proper to be explaned, OCTAVIA-" left I be thought to have been more provident NUS, in it than grateful: but even this is too much: let us pass therefore to other things. I decreed " honors to D. Brutus; decreed them to Plancus: they must be men of great souls who are attracted by glory: but the Senate also is certainly wife, in trying every art that is honest, " by which it can engage any one to the fervice " of the Republic. But I am blamed in the " case of Lepidus: to whom after I had raised " a Statue in the Rostra, I presently threw it "down. My view in that honor was, to re-" clame him from desperate measures; but the " madness of an inconstant man got the better of my prudence: nor was there yet so much " harm in erecting, as good in demolishing the "Statue. But I have faid enough concerning honors; and must say a word or two about punishments: for I have often observed from " your Letters, that you are fond of acquiring " a reputation of clemency, by your treatment of those whom you have conquered in war. "I can imagine nothing to be done by you, but what is wifely done: but to omit the pu-" nishing of wickedness (which we call pardon-"ing) tho' it be tolerable in other cases, I hold " to be pernicious in this war. Of all the civil wars that have been in my memory, there " was not one, in which, what fide foever got the better, there would not have remained " fome form of a Commonwealth: yet in this, what fort of a Republic we are like to have " if we conquer, I would not eafily affirm; but

Cic. 64.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C CESAR
OCTAVIANUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

" if we are conquered, we are fure to have none. My votes therefore were fevere against Antony; severe against Lepidus; not from " any fpirit of revenge, but to deter wicked "Citizens at prefent from making war against their Country; and to leave an example to or posterity, that none hereafter should imitate "Tuch raffiness. Yet this very vote was not er more thine, than it was every body's: in " which there feems, I own, to be fomething er cruel, that the punishment should reach to children, who have done nothing to deferve it: but the constitution is both ancient, and of all Cities; for even Themitocles's children were reduced to want: and fince the " fame punishment falls upon Citizens, condemned of public crimes, how was it possible " for us to be more gentle towards enemies? But how can that man complain of me, who, " if he had conquered, must needs confess, that he would have treated me even with more "feverity? You have now the motives of my opinions in the case of rewards and punishments: for as to other points, you have " heard I imagine, what my fentiments and votes have been. But to talk of these things " now is not necessary; what I am going to " fay, is extremely fo, Brutus; that you come " to Italy with your army as foon as pollible. We are in the utmost expectation of you: whenever you fer foot in Italy, all the world will fly to you: for whether it be our lot to " conquer, (as we had already done, if Lepi-" dus had not been desirous to overturn all, and perish himself with his friends) there will " be a great want of your authority, for the " fettling fome state of a City amongst us; or.

" if there be any danger and struggle still be- A. Urb. 710. " hind, haften to us for God's fake: for you " know, how much depends on opportunity, C. CASAR "how much on dispatch. What diligence I Octavia-" shall use in the care of your sister's children, Nus, you will foon know, I hope, from your mother's and fifter's Letters: in whose cause I

" have more regard to your will, which is ever " most dear to me, than, as some think, to my " own constancy; but it is my desire both to " be, and to appear constant, in nothing so

" much as in loving you [k]."

BRUTUS to CICERO.

"I HAVE read a part of your Letter, which " you fent to Octavius, transmitted to me by 4 Atticus. Your zeal and concern for my fafety gave me no new pleasure: for it is not " onely common, but our daily news, to hear "fomething, which you have faid or done with " your usual fidelity, in the support of my ho-"nor and dignity. Yet that fame part of your Letter affected me with the most sensible " grief, which my mind could possibly receive. "For you compliment him to highly for his "fervices to the Republic: and in a strain so " Suppliant and abject; that, what shall I " fay? I am ashamed of the wretched state, " to which we are reduced; ---- yet it must be "I faid you recommend my fafety to him; "to which what death is not preferable? and "plainly shew, that our fervitude is not yet a-"bolified, but our mafter onely changed. Re-"collect your words, and deny them, if you "date; to be the prayers of a flave to his King. There will the sold the sold that you induce the sold in the sold that the sold in the sol

Cic. 64. Coff. C CESAR OCTAVIA-Q. PEDIUS.

A. Urb. 710. " There is one thing, you fay, which is re-" quired and expected from him, that he would " allow those Citizens to live in safety, of whom " all honest men, and the people of Rome think "well. But what, if he will not allow it? "Shall we be the less safe for that? It is better " not to be fafe, than to be faved by him. For " my part, I can never think all the Gods fo " averse to the preservation of the Roman peo-" ple, that Octavius must be intreated for the " life of any one Citizen; much less for the de-" liverers of the world. It is a pleasure to me " to talk thus magnificently; and it even be-" comes me to those, who know not either, " what to fear for any one, or what to ask of " any one. Can you allow Octavius to have "this power, and yet be his friend? or if you " have any value for me, would you wish to " fee me at Rome, when I must first be recom-" mended to the boy, that he would permit me " to be there? what reason can you have to " thank him, if you think it necessary to beg of him, that he would grant and fuffer us to " live with fafety? or is it to be reckoned a "kindness, that he chuses to see himself, rather "than Antony, in the condition, to have such " petitions addressed to him? one may suppli-" cate indeed the fucceffor, but never the abo-" lisher of a tyranny, that those, who have de-" ferved well of the Republic, may be fafe. It " was this weakness and despair, not more " blameable indeed in you, than in all, which " first pushed Cæsar to the ambition of reign-"ing; and after his death, encouraged Anto-" ny, to think of feizing his place, and has " now raised this boy so high, that you judge " it necessary to address your prayers to him for Ad Brun 19

" the

Cic. 64.

the preservation of men of our rank; and A. Urb. 710. "that we can be faved onely by the mercy of one, scarce yet a man; and by no other means. C. CESAR "But if we had remembered ourselves to be Octavia-"Romans, these infamous men would not be NUS, " more daring to aim at dominion, than we to " repell it : nor would Antony be more encou-" raged by Cæfar's reign, than deterred by his " fate. How can you, a Confular Senator, " and the avenger of fo many treafons, (by fup-" preffing which, you have but postponed our " ruin I fear, for a time,) reflect on what you " have done, and yet approve these things, or " bear them so tamely, as to seem at least to " approve them? for what particular grudge " had you to Antony? no other, but that he " affumed all this to himself; that our lives " should be begged of him; our fafety be pre-" carious, from whom he had received his li-" berty; and the Republic depend on his will " and pleasure. You thought it necessary to " take arms to prevent him from tyrannizing " at this rate: but was it your intent, that by " preventing him, we might fue to another, " who would fuffer himfelf to be advanced into " his place, or that the Republic might be free " and mistress of itself? as if our quarrel was " not perhaps to flavery, but to the conditions of it. But we might have had, not onely " an easy master in Antony, if we would have " been content with that, but whatever share " with him we pleafed, of favors and honors. " For what could he deny to those, whose pa-" tience, he faw, was the best support of his " government? but nothing was of fuch value " to us, that we should sell our faith and our " liberty for it. This very boy, whom the " name

A. Urb. 710. CC. 64. COST. CC. C. C. ESAR COCTAYIA- CC. RUS, C. PADIUS. CC.

name of Cæsar seems to incite against the destroyers of Cæsar, at what rate would he value it (if there was any room to traffic with him) "to be enabled by our help, to maintain his prefent power; fince we have a mind to live, and to be rich, and to be called Confulars?

but then Cæfar must have perished in vain:

for what reason had we to resource at his death, if after it, we were ffill to continue slaves? Letother people be as indolent as they please; but may the Gods and Goddesses deprive me fooner of every thing, than the resolution, not to allow to the heir of him, whom I killed, what I did not allow to the man himfelf: nor would suffer, even in my Father, were he living: were he living; to have more power than the Laws and the Senate. How can you imagine, that any one can be free under him, without "Whose leave there is no place for us in that City? or how is it possible for you after all, to obtain what you alk? You alk, that he would allow us to be fafe. Shall we then receive fafety, think you, when we receive "Life? but how can we receive it, if we first part with our honor and our liberty? Do "You fancy, that to live at Rome is to be fafe? It is the thing, and not the place, which must secure that to me: for I was never safe, "while Cæsar lived, till I had resolved on that attempt: nor can I in any place live in exil, as long as I hate flavery and affronts above all other evils. Is not this to fall back again into the same state of darkness; when he, who has taken upon him the name of the ty-" rant, (though in the Cities of Greece, when the Tyrants are destroyed, their children also perith with them,) must be entreated, that onien

the avengers of tyranny may be fafe? Can I A. Urb. 719. ever wish to see that City, or think it a City, which would not accept liberty when offered, C. C. SAR and even forced upon it, but has more dread Octaviaof the name of their late King, in the person Nus. of a boy, than confidence in itself; though Penius. " it has feen that very King taken off in the " heighth of all his power by the virtue of a " few? As for me, do not recommend me any " more to your Cæfar, nor indeed yourfelf, if You fet a very you will hearken to me. You let a very high value on the few years, which remain to you at that age, if for the fake of them you can supplicate that boy. But take care after all, left what you have done and are doing so laudably against Antony, instead of " being praised, as the effect of a great mind, be charged to the account of your fear. For if you are so pleased with Octavius, as to petition him for our fafety, you will be thought " not to have disliked a Master, but to have "wanted a more friendly one. As to your "praising him for the things, that he has hitherto done, I intirely approve it: for they deserved to be praised, provided that he undertook them, to repel other men's power, not to advance his own. But when you adjudge him, not only to have this power, but that you ought to submit to it so far, as to entreat him that he would not destroy us; you pay him too great a recompense : for you ascribe that very thing to him, which the Republic feemed to enjoy through him: nor "does it ever enter into your thoughts, that if "Octavius be worthy of any honors, because " he wages war with Antony : that those, who " extirpated the very evil, of which these are

Cic. 64. CC Coff. CC CASAR CC OCTAVIA- CC Q. PEDIUS.

but the reliques, can never be fufficiently requited by the Roman people; though they were to heap upon them every thing which they could befrow: but fee how much stronger people's fears are, than their memories, because Antony still lives, and is in arms. to Cæfar, all that could and ought to be done. is past, and cannot be recalled: is Octavius 46 then a person of so great importance, that the people of Rome are to expect from him, what he will determine upon us? or are we of fo little, that any fingle man is to be entreated " for our fafety? As for me, may I never return to you, if ever I either supplicate any man, or do not restrain those, who are dispo-" fed to doit, from supplicating for themselves : " or I will remove to a diffance from all fuch. who can be flaves, and fancy myfelf at Rome, where-ever I can live free; and shall pity you, whose fond defire of life, neither age, nor hoor nors, nor the example of other mens virtue can moderate. For my part, I shall ever think myself happy, as long as I can please " myself with the persuasion, that my piety has been fully requited. For what can be hap-" pier, than for a man, conscious of virtuous acts, and content with liberty, to despise all " human affairs? yet I will never yield to those, who are fond of yielding, or be conquered by those, who are willing to be conquered themselves; but will first try and attempt every thing; nor ever defift from dragging our City out of flavery. If fuch fortune attends, as I ought to have, we shall all rejoice: if not, I shall rejoice myself. For how could this life be fpent better, than in " acts and thoughts, which tend to make my " Country"Countrymen free? I beg and befeech you, A. Urb. 719 "Cicero, not to desert the cause through weari-" ness or diffidence: in repelling present evils, C. CESAR " have your eye always on the future, left they Octavia-" infinuate themselves before you are aware. NUS, " Confider, that the fortitude and courage, with " which you delivered the Republic, when Con-" ful, and now again when Confular, are nothing without constancy and equability. The " case of tried virtue, I own, is harder than of " untried: we require fervices from it, as " debts; and if any thing disappoints us, we " blame with refentment, as if we had been " deceived. Wherefore for Cicero to withftand "Antony, though it be a part highly com-" mendable, yet because such a Consul seemed of course to promise us such a Consular, no " body wonders at it: but if the fame Cicero, " in the case of others, should waver at last in " that resolution, which he exerted with such " firmness and greatness of mind against Anto-" ny, he would deprive himself, not onely of " the hopes of future glory, but forfeit even that " which is past: for nothing is great in itself, " but what flows from the refult of our judge-" ment: nor does it become any man, more " than you, to love the Republic, and to be the " Patron of liberty, on the account either of " your natural talents, or your former acts, or " the wishes and expectation of all men. Octa-" vius therefore must not be entreated, to suffer " us to live in fafety. Do you rather rouse " yourself so far, as to think that City, in which " you have acted the noblest part, free and " flourishing, as long as there are Leaders still ver cannot collect one range bing Court is which Chair

but the thing is impossible, applant.

A. Uib. 710. " to the people, to relift the defigns of Trai-Cic. 64. tors [1]."

Coff. C. CASAR OCTAVIA-Q PEDIUS:

If we compare thefe two Letters, we shall perceive in Cicero's an extensive view and true judgment of things, tempered with the greateft politeries and affection for his friend, and an unwillingness to disgust where he thought it neceffary even to blame. In Brutus's a churlish and morofe arrogance, chalming infinite honors

[/] Ad Brut. 16.

N. B. There is a passage indeed in Brutus's Letter to Atticus, where he intimates a reason of his complaint against Cicero, which was cercamly a just one, if the fact of which he complains had been true; that Cicero bad reproached Cafea with the murther of Cafar, and catled bim an Affassin. I do not know, says he, what I can write to you but this, that the ambition and licentioufness of therthan restrained by Cicero, who carries bis indulgence of bim to fuch a length, as not to refrain from abufes upon Calca, and fucb, as must return doubly upon bimself, who bas put to death more Citi-zens, than one, and must first son bimfelf to be an Affaffin, before be can reproach Cafea, with what he objects to bim. Ep. ad Brur. 17.] Manutius profestes himself unable to conceive how Cicero should ever call Casca a murtherer; yet cannot collect any thing less from Brutus's words. But the thing is impossible,

and inconfilent with every word, that Cicero had been faying, and every act, that he had been doing from the time of Cafar's death: and in relation particularly to Cafca, we have feen above, how he refused to enter into any mealures with Octavius. but upon the expless condition of his fulleting Calea to take quiet possession of the Tribunate: it is certain there-Been missinformed, or was the boy has been instanted, ra- charging Gicero with the confequential meaning of fome faying, which was never intended by him ; in adviling Cafea perhaps to manage Octavius, in that height of his power, with more tem-Hould other Wilebe provoked to confider from as an Alfolin. and treat him as fuch: for an intimation of that kind would have been Rufficient to the Herce Spirit of Brungs for taking it as a direct contiemnation of Carca's act of stabbing Cæfar, to which Cicero had always given the highest applause.

OCTAVIUS had no fooner fettled the affairs of the City, and subdued the Senate to his mind, than he marched back towards Gaul, to meet Antony and Lepidus; who had already passed the Alps, and brought their armies into Italy, in order to have a personal interview with him; which had been privately concerted, for fettling the terms of a tripple league, and dividing the power and provinces of the Empire among themselves. All the three were natural enemies to each other; Competitors for Empire; and aiming feverally to posses, what could not be obtained but with the ruin of the rest: their meeting therefore was not to establish any real amity or lafting concord, for that was impossible, but to suspend their own quarrels for the present, and with common forces to oppress their common enemies, the friends of liberty and the Republic; without which all their feveral hopes and ambitious views must inevitably be blastA. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CESAR
OCTAVIANUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

THE place appointed for the interview, was a small Island, about two miles from Bononia, formed by the river Rhenus, which runs near to that City [n]: here they met, as men of their character must necessarily meet, not without jealoufy and fuspicion of danger from each other, being all attended by their choicest troops, each with five Legions, disposed in separate camps within fight of the Island. Lepidus entered it the first, as an equal friend to the other two, to fee that the place was clear, and free from treachery; and when he had given the fignal agreed upon, Antony and Octavius advanced from the opposite banks of the river, and passed into the Island by bridges, which they left guarded on each fide by three bundred of their own men. Their first care, instead of embracing, was to fearch one another, whether they had not brought daggers concealed under their cloaths; and when that ceremony was over, Octavius took his feat betwixt the other two, in the most honorable place, on the account of his being Conful.

In this situation they spent three days in a close conference, to adjust the plan of their accommodation; the substance of which was, that the Three should be invested jointly with supreme power for the term of sive years, with the title of Triumvirs, for settling the state of the Republic: that they should act in all cases by common consent, nominate the Magistrates and Governors both at home and abroad, and determine all affairs relating to the public by their sole will and pleasure: that Octavius should have for his peculiar province, Afric with Si-

[#] Vid. Cluver, Ital. Antiq. 1. 1. c. 28. p. 187.

cily, Sardinia, and the other Islands of the Medi- A. Urb. 710. terranean; Lepidus, Spain, with the Narbonese Gaul; Antony, the other two Gauls on both C. CASAR fides of the Alps: and to put them all upon a Octavialevel, both in title and authority, that Octavius NUS, should refign the Consulship to Ventidius for the remainder of the year: that Antony and Ostavius should prosecute the war against Brutus and Cassius, each of them at the head of twenty Legions; and Lepidus with three Legions be left to guard the City: and at the end of the war, that eighteen Cities or Colonies, the best and richest of Italy, together with their lands and districts, should be taken from their owners, and affigned to the perpetual possession of the foldiers, as the reward of their faithful fervices. These conditions were published to their several armies, and received by them with acclamations of joy, and mutual gratulations for this happy union of their Chiefs; which at the defire of the foldiers was ratified likewife by a marriage, agreed to be confummated between Octavius and Claudia, the daughter of Antony's wife Fulvia, by her first husband P. Clodius.

THE last thing that they adjusted, was the list of a proscription, which they were determined to make of their enemies. This, as the writers tell us, occasioned much difficulty and warm contests amongst them; till each of them in his turn confented to facrifice some of his best friends to the revenge and refentment of his Collegues. The whole lift is faid to have confifted of three bundred Senators, and two thousand Knights; all doom'd to die for a crime the most unpardonable to Tyrants, their adherence to the cause of liberty. They reserved the publication of the general lift to their arrival at Rome, ex-

VOL. III. cepting

Cic. 64.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C CÆSAR
OCTAVIANUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

cepting onely a few of the most obnoxious; the Heads of the Republican party, about seventeen in all; the chief of whom was Cicero. they mark'd out for immediate destruction; and fent their Emissaries away directly to surprize and murther them, before any notice could reach them of their danger: four of this number were prefently taken and killed in the company of their friends; and the rest hunted out by the foldiers in private houses and temples; which presently filled the City with an universal terror and consternation, as if it had been taken by an enemy: fo that the Conful Pedius was forced to run about the streets all the night, to quiet the minds and appeale the fears of the people; and as foon as it was light published the names of the seventeen, who were principally sought for, with an affurance of fafety and indemnity to all others: but he himself was so shocked and fatigued by the horror of this night's work, that be died the day following [o].

We have no hint from any of Cicero's Letters (for none remain to us of so low a date) what his sentiments were on this interview of the three Chiefs; or what resolution he had taken in consequence of it. He could not but soresee that it must needs be satal to him, if it passed to the satisfaction of Antony and Lepidus; for he had several times declared, that he expected the last severity from them, if ever they got the better. But whatever he had cause to apprehend, it is certain that it was still in his power to avoid it, by going over to Brutus in Macedonia: but he seems to have thought that

remedy

^[0] App. 1. 4. init. Dio. Cicero. Vell. Pat. 2. 65.

remedy worse than the evil; and had so great A. Urb. 710. an abhorrence of entering again, in his advanced age, into a civil war, and fo little value for C. CESAR the few years of life which remained to him, Octaviathat he declares it a thousand times better to die, NUS, than to feek his safety from camps [p]: and he PEDIUS. was the more indifferent about what might happen to himself, since his son was removed from all immediate danger, by being already with Brutus.

THE old Historians endeavour to persuade us, that Cafar did not give bim up to the revenge of his Collegues without the greatest reluctance, and after a struggle of two days to preserve bim [q]: but all that tenderness wae artificial, and a part affumed to give the better color to his defertion of him. For Cicero's death was the natural effect of their union, and a necessary facrifice to the common interest of the Three: those who met to destroy liberty, must come determined to destroy him; fince his authority was too great to be suffered in an enemy; and experience had shewn, that nothing could make him a friend to the oppressors of his country.

CESAR therefore was pleased with it undoubtedly, as much as the rest; and when his pretended squeamishness was over-ruled, shewed himself more cruel and bloody in urging the Profeription, than either of the other two [r]. Nothing,

[p] Reipub. vicem delebo, ib. 16. 7. que immortalis esse debet; mihi quidem quantulum reliqui eft? [ad Brut. x.] i TEOV ergo in castra? millies mori melius, huic præsertim ætati: [ad Att. 14. 22.] fed abesse hanc ætatem longe a Aug. 27. sepulchro negant oportere.

[9] Plutar. in Cicer. Vell. Pat. 2. 66.

[r] Restitit aliquandiu Collegis, ne qua fieret proscriptio, sed inceptam utroque acerbius exercuit, &c. Suet,

Cic. 64.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coff. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIA-NUS, Q. PEDIUS.

Nothing, fays Velleius, was so shameful on this occasion, as that Casar should be forced to proscribe any man; or that Cicero especially should be proscribed by him [s]. But there was no force in the case: for tho', to save Cæsar's honor, and to extort, as it were, Cicero from him, Lepidus gave up his own brother, Paullus; and Antony his uncle, L. Cæfar, who were both actually put into the lift; yet neither of them loft their lives, but were protected from any harm

by the power of their relations [t].

IF we look back a little, to take a general view of the conduct of these Triumvirs, we shall fee Antony roused at once by Cæsar's death from the midst of pleasure and debauch, and a most abject obsequiousness to Cæsar's power, forming the true plan of his interest, and purfuing it with a furprizing vigor and address; till after many and almost insuperable difficulties, he obtained the fovereign dominion, which he aimed at. Lepidus was the chief instrument that he made use of; whom he employed very fuccessfully at home, till he found himself in condition to support his pretensions alone, and then fent to the other fide of the Alps, that in case of any disaster in Italy, he might be provided with a fecure resource in his army. By this management he had ordered his affairs fo artfully, that by conquering at Modena, he would have made himself probably the sole Mafter of Rome; while the onely difference of being conquered, was to admit two partners with him

^[] Nihil tam indignum illo Cicero proscriptus est. illo tempore fuit, quam Vell. Pat. 2. 66. quod aut Cæsar aliquem pro-[1] Appian. 1. 4. 610. scribere coactus est, aut ab Dio. 1. 47. 330.

Cic 64.

Q PEDIUS.

him into the Empire; the one of whom at least A. Urb. 710.

he was fure always to govern.

OCTAVIUS'S conduct was not less politic or C. CESAR vigorous: he had great parts, and an admira- Octaviable genius, with a diffimulation sufficient to perfuade that he had good inclinations too. As his want of years and authority made it impoffible for him to fuccede immediately to his Uncle's power, fo his first business was, to keep the place vacant till he should be more ripe for it; and to give the exclusion in the mean while to every body elfe. With this view he acted the Republican with great gravity; put himself under the direction of Cicero; and was wholly governed by his advice, as far as his interest carried him; that is, to depress Antony, and drive bim out of Italy; who was his immediate and most dangerous rival. Here he stopt short, and paufed a while, to confider what new meafures this new state of things would suggest: when by the unexpected death of the two Confuls, finding himself at once the master of every thing at home, and Antony, by the help of Lepidus, rifing again the stronger from his fall, he faw presently that his best chance for Empire was, to content himself with a share of it, till he should be in condition to seize the whole: and from the fame policy with which he joined himself with the Republic to destroy Antony, he now joined with Antony to oppress the Republic, as the best means of securing and advancing his own power.

LEPIDUS was the Dupe of them both; a vain, weak, inconstant man; incapable of Empire, yet aspiring to the possession of it; and abusing the most glorious opportunity of serving his Country, to the ruin both of his Coun-

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. Cæsar
OctaviaNus,
Q. Pedius.

try and himself. His wife was the Sister of M. Brutus, and his true interest lay in adhering to that alliance: for if, by the advice of Laterensis, he had joined with Plancus and D. Brutus to oppress Antony, and give liberty to Rome, the merit of that service, added to the dignity of his family and fortunes, would neceffarily have made him the first Citizen of a free Republic. But his weakness deprived him of that glory: he flattered himself, that the first share of power, which he seemed at present to possess, would give him likewise the first share of Empire: not confidering that military power depends on the reputation and abilities of him who possesses it: in which, as his Collegues far excelled him, fo they would be fure always to eclipse, and whenever they thought it proper, to destroy him. This he found afterwards to be the case: when Cæsar forced him to beg his life upon his knees, though at the head of twenty Legions; and deposed him from that dignity, which be knew not bow to sustain [u].

CICERO was at his Tusculan Villa, with his Brother and Nephew, when he first received the news of the Proscription, and of their being included in it. It was the design of the Triumvirate to keep it a secret, if possible, to the moment of execution; in order to surprize those, whom they had destined to destruction, before they were aware of the danger, or had time to escape. But some of Cicero's friends sound means to give him early notice of it; upon which he set forward presently with his Brother and Nephew towards Astura; the nearest Villa which

he

[[]u] Spoliata, quam tueri non poterat, dignitas. Vell. Pat. 2. 8.

he had upon the sea; with intent to transport A. Urb. 710. themselves directly out of the reach of their enemies. But Quintus being wholly unprepared for so sudden a voyage, resolved to turn Octavia. back with his fon to Rome, in confidence of ly- NUS, ing concealed there, till they could provide mo- Q PEDIUS. ney and necessaries for their support abroad. Cicero in the mean while found a vessel ready for him at Astura, in which he presently embarked: but the winds being cross and turbulent, and the fea wholly uneafy to him, after he had failed about two leagues along the coaft, he landed at Circæum, and spent a night near that place in great anxiety and irrefolution: the question was, what course he should steer; and whether he should fly to Brutus, or to Cassius, or to S. Pompeius; but after all his deliberations, none of them pleased bim so much as the expedient of dying [x]: fo that, as Plutarch fays, he had some thoughts of returning to the City, and killing bimself in Cæsar's bouse; in order to leave the guilt and curse of his blood upon Cæsar's perfidy and ingratitude: but the importunity of his fervants prevailed with him to fail forwards to Cajeta; where he went again on shore, to repose himself in his Formian Villa, about a mile from the coast; weary of life and the sca; and declaring, that be would die in that Country, which he had so often saved [y]. Here he slept foundly

Cic. 64. Coff. C. CÆSAR

[x] Cremutius Cordus ait, unumne Brutum an Cassium, an S. Pompeium peteret, omnia displicuisse præter mortem. Senec. Suafor. 6.

[y] Tædium tandem eum & fugæ & vitæ cepit; re-

gressusque ad superiorem vil-Ciceroni, cum cogitaffet, lam, quæ paullo plus mille passibus a mari abest, moriar inquit in patria, sæpe servata. Liv. Fragm. apud Senec. Suafor. 1. vid. it. Plutar. Cic.

Cic. 64. Coff. C. CÆSAR OCTAVIA-NUS, Q. PEDIUS.

A. Urb. 710. foundly for feveral hours; tho, as fome writers tell us, "a great number of Crows were flut-" tering all the while, and making a strange " noise about his windows, as if to rouse and " warn him of his approaching fate; and that " one of them made its way into the chamber, " and pulled away his very bed-cloaths; till his " flaves, admonished by this prodigy, and a-" shamed to see brute creatures more sollici-" tous for his fafety than themselves, forced " him into his Litter, or portable Chair," and carried him away towards the ship, thro' the private ways and walks of his woods; having just heard that foldiers were already come into the country in quest of him, and not far from the Villa. As foon as they were gone, the foldiers arrived at the house; and perceiving him to be fled, pursued immediately towards the sea, and overtook him in the wood. Their Leader was one Popilius Lænas, a Tribun, or Colonel of the army, whom Cicero had formerly defended and preferved in a capital cause. As soon as the foldiers appeared, the servants prepared themselves to fight, being resolved to defend their master's life at the hazard of their own: but Cicero commanded them to set him down, and to make no refistance [2]: then looking upon his executioners with a presence and firmness, which almost daunted them, and thrusting his neck, as forwardly as he could, out of the Litter, he bad them do their work, and take what they wanted: upon which they presently cut off bis Head, and both

> [z] Satis constat servos pati, quod sors iniqua coge-fortiter sideliterque paratos ret, jussisse. Liv. Fragment. fuisse ad demicandum: ipsum ibid. deponi lecticam, & quietos

both his hands, and returned with them in all A. Urb. 710. haste and great joy towards Rome, as the most agreeable present which they could possibly carry to C. CESAR Antony. Popilius charged himself with the con- OCTAVIAveyance, without reflecting on the infamy of car- NUS, rying that head, which had faved his own [a]: Q. PEDIUS. he found Antony in the Forum, furrounded with guards and crouds of people; but upon flewing from a distance the fpoils which he brought, he was rewarded upon the fpot with the honor of a Crown, and about eight thousand pounds sterling. Antony ordered the head to be fixed upon the Rostra, between the two bands: a fad spectacle to the City; and what drew tears from every eye; to fee those mangled members, which used to exert themselves so gloriously from that place, in defence of the lives, the fortunes, and the liberties of the Roman people, fo lamentably exposed to the fcorn of Sycophants and Traitors. The deaths of the rest, fays an Historian of that age, caused onely a private and particular forrow; but Cicero's an universal one [b]: it was a triumph over the Republic itself; and feemed to confirm and establish the perpetual flavery of Rome. Antony confidered it as fuch, and fatiated with Cicero's blood, declared the Proscription at an end.

Cic. 64.

HE

[a] Ea Sarcina, tanquam opimis spoliis alacer in urbem reversus est. Nequi ei sceleftum portanti onus succurrit, illud se caput ferre, quod pro capite ejus quondam peroraverat. Val. Max. 5. 3.

[b] Cæterorumque cædes

privatos luctus excitaverunt; illa una communem _ [Cremutius Cordus, apud Senec.] Civitas lacrymas tenere non potuit, quum recisum Ciceronis caput in illis suis Rostris videretur. I. Flor. 4. 6.

The HISTORY of the Life

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIANUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

HE was killed on the seventh of December; about ten days from the settlement of the Triumvirate; after he had lived sixty three years, eleven months, and five days [c].

[c] Vid. Plutar. in Cic. 601. Dio. 1. 47. p. 330. Vell. Pat. 2. 64. Liv. Fragm. Pighii Annal. ad A. U. 710. apud Senec. Appian. 1. 4.

Company and a long a man hard and a first

and falls hillands to completely white party

water the first street about the water of

t Mir iddige Mir i revolució de la certa de la ligidad de la certa de la ligidad de la certa del la certa de la certa del la certa de la certa del la

and the state of the same of the state of the same of

-OH HOLES IN THE TOTAL CO.

SECT. XII.

HE story of Cicero's death continued fresh on the minds of the Romans for many ages after it; and was delivered down to posterity with all its circumstances, as one of the most affecting and memorable events of their History: fo that the spot, on which it happened, seems to have been visited by travellers with a kind of religious reverence [a]. The odium of it fell chiefly on Antony; yet it left a stain of perfidy and ingratitude also on Augustus; which explanes the reason of that filence, which is obferved about him, by the writers of that age; and why his name is not fo much as mentioned either by Horace or Virgil. For though his character would have furnished a glorious subject for many noble lines, yet it was no subject for Court Poets; fince the very mention of him must have been a satire on the Prince; especially while Antony lived; among the Sycophants of whose Court, it was fashionable to insult his memory by all the methods of calumny that wit and malice could invent: nay Virgil, on an occasion, that could hardly fail of bringing him to his mind, instead of doing justice to his merit, chose to do an injustice rather to Rome itself, by yielding the superiority of eloquence to the Greeks, which they themselves had been forced to yield to Cicero [b].

LAVY

[a] Sæpe Clodio Ciceronem expellenti & Antonio occidenti, videmur irasci. Sen. de ira. 2. 2.

Kinegar-perjay eis id.or

xwelov, ο καθ' i πείαν το Α το πάθες είδον. App. p. 600. [b]—Orabunt causas melius, &c. Æn. 6. 849. Livy however, whose candor made Augustus call him a Pompeian [c], while out of complaisance to the times, he seems to extenuate the crime of Cicero's murther, yet after a high encomium of his virtues, declares, that to praise him as he deserved, required the eloquence of Cicero himself [d]. Augustus too, as Plutarch tells us, happening one day to catch his grandson reading one of Cicero's books, which, for sear of the Emperor's displeasure, the boy endeavoured to hide under his gown, took the book into his hands, and turning over a great part of it, gave it back again, and said, this was a learned man, my child, and a lover of his country [e].

In the succeeding generation, as the particular envy to Cicero subsided, by the death of those, whom private interests and personal quarrels had engaged to hate him when living, and defame him when dead, so his name and memory began to shine out in its proper lustre: and in the reign even of Tiberius, when an eminent Senator and

Hifto-

[c] — T. Livius — Cn.
Pompeium tantis laudibus
tulit, ut Pompeianum eum
Augustus appellaret. Tacit.

Ann. 4. 34.

[d] Si quis tamen virtutibus vitia pensarit, vir magnus, acer, memorabilis suit, & in cujus laudes sequendas Cicerone laudatore opus suerit. Liv. Fragment. apud Senec. Suasor. 6.

[e] Plutar. vit. Cicer. There is another story of the fame kind recorded by Macrobius, to shew Augustus's moderation with regard also to Cato: that Augustus be-

ing one day in the house, which had belonged to Cato, where the master of it, out of compliment to his great guest, took occasion to reflect on Cato's perverseness, he stopped him short by saying, that he who would suffer no change in the constitution of his City, was a good citizen, and honess man: but by this character of Cato's honesty, he gave a severe wound to his own, who not onely changed but usurped the government of his country. Macrob. Saturn. 2. 4.

Historian, Cremutius Cordus was condemned to die for praising Brutus, yet Paterculus could not forbear breaking out into the following warm expostulation with Antony, on the subject of Cicero's death: "Thou hast done nothing, " Antony; hast done nothing, I say, by setting " a price on that divine and illustrious head, and " by a deteftable reward, procuring the death of " fo great a Conful and preserver of the Repub-" lic. Thou hast fnatched from Cicero a trouble-" fome being; a declining age; a life more mi-" ferable under thy dominion, than death itself; " but, fo far from diminishing the glory of his " deeds and fayings, thou hast encreased it. " He lives and will live in the memory of all " ages; and as long as this fystem of nature, " whether by chance or providence, or what " way foever formed, which he alone, of all the " Romans, comprehended in his mind, and il-" lustrated by his eloquence, shall remain intire, " it will draw the praises of Cicero along with " it; and all posterity will admire his writings " against thee, curse thy act against him-" [f]".

FROM this period, all the Roman writers, whether Poets or Historians, seem to vie with each other in celebrating the praises of Cicero, as the most illustrious of all their Patriots, and the parent of the Roman wit and eloquence; who had done more honor to his country by his writings, than all their Conquerors by their arms, and extended the bounds of his learning beyond those of their Empire [g]. So that their very Emperors.

[f] Vell. Pat. 2.66.

-omnium triumphorum lau-Facundiæ, latiarum- ream adepte majorem, quanque literarum parens_atque to plus est ingenii Romani

rors, near three centuries after his death, began to reverence him in the class of their inferior Deities [b]: a rank, which he would have preferved to this day, if he had happened to live in Papal Rome, where he could not have failed, as Erasmus says, from the innocence of his life, of

obtaining the honor and title of a Saint.

As to his person, he was tall and slender, with a neck particularly long; yet his features were regular and manly; preserving a comeliness and dignity to the laft, with a certain air of chearfulness and ferenity, that imprinted both affection and respect [k]. His constitution was naturally weak, yet was so confirmed by his management of it, as to enable him to support all the fatigues of the most active, as well as the most studious life, with perpetual health and vigor. The care, that he employed upon his body, confifted chiefly in bathing and rubbing, with a few turns every day in his gardens for the refreshment of his voice from the labor of the bar [1]: yet in the fummer, he generally gave himself the exercife of a journey, to visift his several estates and villa's in different parts of Italy. But his principal instrument of health, was diet and temperance:

terminos in tantum promovisse, quam Imperii. Plin.

Hift. 7. 30. Qui effecit, ne quorum arma viceramus, corum ingenio vinceremur. Vell. P.

[6] Lamprid. vit. Alex.

Sever. c. 31.

[i] Quem arbitror, fi Christianam philosophiam didicisset, in corum numero censendum fuisse, qui nunc ob vitam innocenter pieque transactam, pro Divis honorantur. Erasm. Ciceronian. verf. finem.

[k] Ei quidem facies decora ad senectutem, prosperaque permansit valetudo. Afin. Poll. apud Senec. Suasor. 6.

[/] Cum recreandæ voculæ causa, mihi necesse esset ambulare. Ad. Att. 2. 23. Plutar, in vit.

rance: by these he preserved himself from all violent diffempers; and when he happened to be attacked by any flight indisposition, used to enforce the feverity of his abstinence, and starve it

presently by fasting [m].

In his cloaths and drefs, which the wife have usually confidered as an index of the mind, he observed, what he prescribes in his book of offices, a modefly and decency, adapted to his rank and character: a perpetual cleanliness, without the appearance of pains; free from the affectation of fingularity; and avoiding the extremes of a ruftic negligence, and foppish delicacy [m]: both of which are equally contrary to true dignity; the one implying an ignorance, or illiberal contempt of it; the other a childish pride and oftentation of proclaming our pretenfions to it.

In his domeftic and focial life, his behaviour was very amiable: he was a most indulgent parent, a fincere and zealous friend, a kind and generous mafter. His Letters are full of the tenderest expressions of his love for his children; in whose endearing conversation, as he often tells us, he used to drop all his cares, and relieve himself from all his struggles in the Senate and the Forum [0]. The same affection, in an inferior degree, was extended also to his slaves; when

[m] Cum quidem biduum ita jejunus fuissem, ut ne afam. 7. 26. vid. Plufar.

[n] Adhibenda munditia ligentiam. Badem ratio eft 1. 18.

habenda vestitus: in quo, sicut in plerisque rebus, mediquam quidem gustaram. Ep. ocritas optima est. De offic. 1. 36.

[0] Ut tantum requietis non odiofa, neque exquisita habeam, quantum cum uxonimis; tantum quæ fugiat a- re, & filiola, & mellito Cigrestem & inhumanam neg- cerone consumitur. Ad Att.

by their fidelity and fervices they had recommended themselves to his favor. We have seen a remarkable instance of it in Tiro; whose case was no otherwise different from the rest, than as it was diftinguished by the superiority of his merit. In one of his Letters to Atticus, I bave nothing more, fays he, to write; and my mind indeed is somewhat ruffled at present, for Socitheus, my reader, is dead, a hopeful youth; which has afflicted me more than one would imagine, the

death of a flave ought to do [p].

HE entertained very high notions of friendship; and of its excellent use and benefit to human life; which he has beautifully illustrated in his entertaining treatife on that subject; where he lays down no other rules, than what he exemplified by his practice. For in all the variety of friendships, in which his eminent rank engaged him, he was never charged with deceiving, deferting, or even flighting any one, whom he had once called his friend, or esteemed an honest man. It was his delight to advance their prosperity, to relieve their adversity; the same friend to both fortunes; but more zealous onely in the bad, where his help was the most wanted, and his fervices the most difinterested; looking upon it not as a friendship, but a fordid traffic and merchandize of benefits, where good offices are to be weighed by a nice estimate of gain and loss [a]. He calls gratitude the mother of virtues ;

nagnostes noster, Sositheus 1. 18.] quam si ad fructum decesserat, meque plus quam nostrum referemus, non ad fervi mors debere videbatur, illius commoda, quem dili-

tia? si non ipse amicus per se or. 1. 44.

[p] Nam puer festivus, a- amatur toto pectore. [de leg. commoverat. Ad Att. 1. gimus, non erat ista amicitia, sed mercatura quædam utili-[9] Ubi illa fancta amici- tatum suarum. De Nat. Deand uses the words, gratefull and good, as terms fynonymous, and inseparably united in the same character. His writings abound with sentiments of this fort, as his life did with the examples of them [r]; so that one of his friends, in apologizing for the importunity of a request, observes to him with great truth, that the tenor of his life would be a sufficient excuse for it; since he had established such a custom, of doing every thing for his friends, that they no longer requested,

but claimed a right to command him [s]. YET he was not more generous to his friends, than placable to his enemies; readily pardoning the greatest injuries, upon the slightest submission; and though no man ever had greater abilities or opportunities of revenging himself, yet when it was in his power to hurt, he fought out reasons to forgive; and whenever he was invited to it, never declined a reconciliation with his most inveterate enemies; of which there are numerous instances in his history. He declared nothing to be more laudable and worthy of a great man, than placability; and laid it down for a natural duty, to moderate our revenge, and observe a temper in punishing; and held repentance to be a sufficient ground for remitting it: and it was one of his fayings, delivered to a public affembly, that his VOL. III. enmities

[r] Cum omnibus virtutibus me affectum esse cupiam,
tamen nihil est quod malim,
quam me & gratum esse &
videri. Est enim hæc una
virtus non solum maxima,
sed etiam mater virtutem
omnium—quæ potest esse jucunditas vitæ sublatis ami-

citiis? quæ porro amicitia potest esse inter ingratos? Pro Planc. 23. de Fin. 2. 22.

[1] Nam quod ita consulieris pro amicis laborare, non jam sic sperant abs te, sed etiam sic imperant tibi familiares. Ep. sam. 6. 7. enmities were mortal, his friendships immortal

[1].

His manner of living was agreeable to the dignity of his character; splendid and noble: his house was open to all the learned Strangers and Philosophers of Greece and Asia; several of whom were confrantly entertained in it, as part of his family, and spent their whole lives with him [u]. His levee was perpetually crouded with multitudes of all ranks; even Pompey himself not disdaining to frequent it. The greatest part came, not onely to pay their compliments, but to attend him on days of business to the Senate or the Forum; where upon any debate or transaction of moment, they constantly waited to conduct him home again: but on ordinary days, when these morning visits were over, as they usually were before ten, he retired to his books, and thut himfelf up in his library, without feeking any other diversion, but what his children afforded to the short intervals of his leifure [x]. His fupper was his greatest meal; and

[1] Est enim ulciscendi & puniendi modus. Atque haud scio, an satis sit, eum, qui lacessierit, injuriæ suæ pænitere. [de off. 1. xi.] nihil enim laudabilius, nihil magno viro dignius, placabilitate & clementia. [ibid. 25.]

Cum parcere vel lædere potuissem, ignoscendi quærebam causas, non puniendi occasiones. — Fragment. Cic.

ex Marcellino -

Neque vero me pænitet mortales inimicitias fempiternas amicitias habere. Pro C. Rabir. Pott. 12. [u] Doctissimorum hominum familiaritates, quibus semper domus nostra storuit, & Principes illi, Diodotus, Philo, Antiochus, Posidonius, a quibus instituti sumus. De Nat. Deor. 1.3.

Eram cum Diodoto Stoico; qui cum habitavisset apud me, mecumque vixisset, nuper est domi meæ mortu-

us. Brut. 433.

[x] Cum bene completa domus est tempore matutino, cum ad forum stipati gregibus, amicorum descendimus—ad Att. 1. 18.

Mane

and the usual season with all the great, of enjoying their friends at table, which was frequently prolonged to a late hour of the night: yet he was out of his bed every morning before it was light; and never used to sleep again at noon, as all others generally did, and as it is commonly

practifed in Rome to this day [y].

Bur though he was fo temperate and fludious, yet when he was engaged to fup with others, either at home or abroad, he laid afide his rules, and forgot the invalid; and was gay and forightly, and the very foul of the company. When friends were met together, to heighten the comforts of focial life, he thought it inhospitable, not to contribute his share to their common mirth, or to damp it by a churlish refervedness. But he was really a lover of chearfull entertainments; being of a nature remarkably facetious, and fingularly turned to raillery [2]: a talent, which was of great service to him at the bar, to correct the petulance of an adversary; relieve the fatiety of a tedious cause; divert the minds of the Judges; and mitigate the rigor

Mane falutamus domi bonos vivos multos—ubi falutatio defluxit litteris me involvo—Ep. fam. 9. 20. Cum falutationi nos dedimus amicorum—abdo me în Bibliothecam. Ep. fam. 7. 28.

Post horam quartam molefti exteri non sunt. Ad Att.

2. 14.

[y] Nunc quidem propter intermissionem forensis operæ, & lucubrationes detraxi & meridiationes addidi, quibus uti antea non solebam. De Div. 2. 58.

[z] Ego autem, existimes quod lubet, mirifice capior facetiis, maxime nostratibus—[Ep. fam. 9. 15.] Nec id ad voluptatem refero, sed ad communitatem vitæ acque victus, remissionemque animorum, quæ maxime sermone efficitur samiliari, qui est in conviviis dulcissimus—[ib. 24.] convivio delector. Ibi loquor quod in solum, ut dicitur, & gemitum etiam in risus maximos transfero. [ib. 26.]

of a sentence, by making both the Bench and Audience merry at the expence of the Accuser

[a].

This use of it was always thought fair, and greatly applauded in public trials; but in private conversations, he was charged sometimes with pushing his raillery too far; and, through a consciousness of his superior wit, exerting it often intemperately, without reflecting what cruel wounds his lashes inflicted [b]. Yet of all his farcastical jokes, which are transmitted to us by Antiquity, we shall not observe any, but what were pointed against characters, either ridiculous or profligate; fuch as he despised for their follies, or hated for their vices; and though he might provoke the spleen, and quicken the malice of enemies, more than was confiftent with a regard to his own eafe, yet he never appears to have hurt or loft a friend, or any one whom he valued, by the levity of jesting.

It is certain, that the fame of his wit was as celebrated as that of his eloquence; and that feveral spurious collections of his sayings were handed about in Rome in his life-time [c]; till his friend Trebonius, after he had been Consul, thought it worth while to publish an authentic edition of them, in a volume which he addressed

to

[a]—Suavis est & vehementer sæpe utilis jocus & facetiæ—multum in causis persæpe lepore & facetiis prosici vidi. De Or. 2, 54.

Quæ risum judicis movendo & illos tristes solvit affeetus, & animum ab intentione rerum frequenter avertit, & aliquando etiam reficit, & a satietate vel a fatigatione re-

novat-Quintil. 1. 6. c. 3.

[b] Noster vero non solum extra judicia, sed in ipsis etiam orationibus habitus est nimius risus affectator ibid. vid. Plutar.

[c] Ais enim, ut ego difcefferim, omnia omnium dicta—in me conferri—Ep. fam. 7. 32. it. 9. 16. to Cicero bimself [d]. Cæsar likewise, in the heighth of his power, having taken a fancy to collect the Apophthegms, or memorable fayings of eminent men, gave strict orders to all his friends, who used to frequent Cicero, to bring bim every thing of that fort, which happened to drop from bim in their company [e]. But Tiro, Cicero's freedman, who ferved him chiefly in his studies and litterary affairs, published after his death, the most perfect collection of his sayings in three books: where Quintilian however wishes, that be bad been more sparing in the number, and judicious in the choice of them [f]. None of these books are now remaining, nor any other specimen of the jefts, but what are incidentally scattered in different parts of his own and other people's writings; which, as the fame judicious Critic observes, through the change of tast in different ages, and the want of that action or gesture, which gave the chief spirit to many of them, could never be explaned to advantage, though feveral bad attempted it. How much more cold then, and infipid must they needs appear to us, who are unacquainted with the particular characters and stories, to which they relate, as well U 2 25

[d] Liber iste, quem mihi misisti, quantum habet declarationem amoris tui? primum, quod tibi facetum videtur quicquid ego dixi, quod
aliis fortasse non item: deinde, quod illa, sive faceta
funt, sive sic siunt, narrante
te, venustissima.—Ep. fam.
15. 21.

[e] Audio Cæsarem, cum volumina jam consecerit amo-

tur pro meo, quod meum non fit, rejicere solere—hæc ad illum cum reliquis actis perseruntur; ita enim ipse mandavit. Ep. fam. 9. 16.

[f] Utinam libertus ejus Tiro, aut alius quisquis fuit, qui tres hac de re libros edidit, parcius dictorum numero indulfisset—& plus judicii in eligendis, quam in congerendis studii adhibuisset.—Quintil. l. 6. c. 3.

as the peculiar fashions, humor and tast of wir in that age? Yet even in these, as Quintilian also tells us, as well as in his other compositions, people would sooner find what they might reject, than what they could add to them [g].

HE had a great number of fine Houles, in different parts of Italy; fome writers reckon up eighteen; which, excepting the family-feat at Arpinum, seem to have been all purchased, or. built by himself. They were situated generally near to the sea, and placed at proper distances along the lower coast, between Rome and Pompeii, which was about four leagues beyond Naples; and for the elegance of structure, and the delights of their fituation, are called by him the eyes, or the beauties of Italy [b]. Those in which he took the most pleasure, and usually spent some part of every year, were his Tulculum, Antium, Aftura, Arpinum; bis Formian, Cuman, Puteolan and Pompeian Villa's; all of them large enough for the reception, not onely of his own family, but of his friends and numerous guests; many of whom of the first quality used to pass feveral days with him in their excursions from Rome. But besides these, that may properly be reckoned feats, with large plantations and gardens around them, he had feveral little Inns, as he calls them, or baiting places on the road, built for his accommodation in paffing from one House to another [i].

His

[g] Qui tamen nunc quoque, ut in omni ejus ingenio, facilius quid rejici, quam quid adjici possit, invenient. ibid. vid. etiam Macrob. Sat. 2. 1.

[b] Quodque temporis in prædiolis nostris, & belle ædiscatis, & satis amænis con-

fumi potuit, in peregrinatione confumimus—fad Att. 16. 3.] cur ocellos Italia, villulas meas non video? ib. 6.

[i] Ego accepi in Diverforiolo Sinuessano, tuas litteras. Ad Att. 14. 8.

of M. TULLIUS CICERO.

His Tusculan House had been Sylla's, the Distator; and in one of its apartments had a painting of bis memorable victory near Nola, in the Marsic war, in which Cicero had ferved under him as a Volunteer [k]: it was about four leagues from Rome, on the top of a beautiful. Hill, covered with the Villa's of the nobility, and affording an agreeable prospect of the City, and the country around it; with plenty of water flowing thro' his grounds in a large stream . or canal, for which he paid a rent to the Corporation of Tusculum [1]. Its neighbourhood. to Rome gave him the opportunity of a retreat at any hour, from the fatigues of the bar, or the Senate, to breath a little fresh air, and divert ... himself with his friends or family: fo that this was the place in which he took the most delight. and spent the greatest share of his leifure; and for that reason improved and adorned it beyond all his other houses [m].

U4 WHEN

[k] Idque etiam in Villa fua Tusculana, quæ postea fuit Ciceronis, Sylla pinxit. Plin. Hitt. Nat. 22. 6.

[/] Ego Tusculanis pro Aqua Crabra vectigal pendam, quia a Municipio sundum accepi—Con. Rull 3. 2.

[m] Qua mihi antea signa. missis,—ea omnia in Tusculanum deportabo.—[Ad Att. 1. 4.] Nos ex omnibus laboribus & molestiis uno illo in loco conquiescimus. [ib. 5] Nos Tusculano ita delectamur, ut nobismet ipsis tum denique, cum illo venimus, placeamus. ib. 6.

The fituation of this Tufculan House, which had been built perhaps by Sylla, con-

firms what Seneca has observed of the Villas of all the other great Captains of Rome, Marius, Pompey, Czfar; that they were placed always on hills, or the highest ground that they could find; it being thought more military, to command the view of the country beneath them, and that houses so situated had the appearance of a camp, rather than a Villa-[Senec. Epift. 51.] But this delightfull fpot is now possessed by a Convent of Monks, called Grotta Ferrata, where they still shew the remains of Cicero's columns and fine buildings, and the ducts of water that flowed through his gardens.

WHEN a greater fatiety of the City, or a longer vacation in the Forum disposed him to feek a calmer scene, and more undisturbed retirement, he used to remove to Antium or Astura. At Antium he placed his best collection of books, and as it was not above thirty miles from Rome, he 'could have daily intelligence there of every thing that passed in the City. Astura was a little Island, at the mouth of a river of the fame name, about two leagues farther towards the South, between the promontaries of Antium and Circaum, and in the view of them both; a place peculiarly adapted to the purpofes of folitude, and a severe retreat; covered with a thick wood, cut out into shady walks, in which he used to spend the gloomy and splenetic moments of his life.

In the heighth of Summer, the Mansion-house at Arpinum, and the little Island adjoining, by the advantage of its groves and cascades, afforded the best defence against the inconvenience of the heats; where in the greatest, that he had ever remembered, we find him refreshing himfelf, as he writes to his Brother, with the utmost pleasure, in the cool stream of his Fibre-

nus [n].

His other Villa's were fituated in the more public parts of *Italy*, where all the best company of *Rome* had their Houses of pleasure. He had two at *Formiæ*, a lower and upper Villa; the one near to the port of *Cajeta*, the other upon the mountains adjoining: he had a third on the shore of *Baiæ*, between the *Lake Aver-*

nus

[n] Ego ex magnis caloribus non enim meminimus refeci ludorum diebus, Ad majores, in Arpinati, summa Quint. 3. 1. fourth on the hills of old Cumæ, called his Cuman Villa; and a fifth at Pompeii, four leagues beyond Naples; in a country famed for the purity of its air, fertility of its foil, and delicacy of its fruits. His Puteolan House was built after the plan of the Academy at Athens, and called by that name; being adorned with a Portico and a grove, for the same use of philosophical conferences. Some time after his death it fell into the hands of Antistius Vetus, who repaired and improved it; when a spring of warm water, which happened to burst out in one part of it, gave occasion to the following Epigram, made by Laurea Tullius, one of Cicero's freed men.

Quo tua Romanæ vindex clarissime linguæ
Sylva loco melius surgere jussa viret,
Atque Academiæ celebratam nomine villam
Nunc reparat cultu sub potiore Vetus,
Hic etiam apparent lymphæ non ante repertæ,
Languida quæ infuso lumina rore levant.
Nimirum locus ipse sui Ciceronis bonori
Hoc dedit, bac fontes cum patefecit ope.
Ut quoniam totum legitur sine sine per orbem,
Sint plures, oculis quæ medeantur, aquæ [o].
Where

[0] Plin. Hist. Nat. 1 31.2. This Villa was afterwards an Imperial Palace; possessed by the Emperor Hadrian, who died and was buried in it; where he is supposed to have breathed out that last and celebrated adieu to his little pallid, frightened,

[1] Animula vagula, blandula, Hospes, Comesque corporis, Quæ nunc abibis in loca, Pallidula, rigidia, nudula, Nec, ut soles, dabis jocos. Ælii Spartian. Vit. Hadr. 25.

fluttering Soul [1]; which would have left him with less regret, if, from Cicero's habitation on earth, it had known the way to those regions above, where Cicero probably still lives, in the fruition of endless happiness [2].

Where groves, once thine, now with fresh ver-

Great Parent of the Eloquence of Rome,
And where thy Academy, favorite seat,
Now to Antistius yields its sweet retreat,
A gushing stream bursts out, of wondrous power,
To heal the eyes, and weaken'd sight restore.
The place, which all its pride from Cicero drew,
Repays this bonor to his memory due,
That since his works throughout the world are
spread,

And with such eagerness by all are read, New springs of healing quality should rise, To ease the encrease of labor to the eyes.

THE Furniture of his Houses was suitable to the elegance of his tast, and the magnificence of his buildings; his Galleries were adorned with statues and paintings of the best Grecian Masters; and his vessels and moveables were of the best work and choicest materials. There was a Cedar Table of his remaining in Pliny's time, said to be the first which was ever seen in Rome, and to have cost him eighty pounds [p]. He thought it the part of an eminent Citizen, to preserve an uniformity of character in every article of his conduct, and to illustrate his dignity by the splendor of his life. This was the

[2] Ubi nunc agat anima Ciceronis, fortasse non est humani judicii pronunciare: me certe non admodum adversum habituri fint inferendis calculis, qui sperant illum anud Superos quietam vitam agere — Erasm. Procem, in

Tuso. Quæst. ad Joh. Ulatten.

[p] Extat hodie M. Ciceronis, in illa paupertate, & quod magis misum est, illo ævo empta H. S. X. — [Plin. Hist. N. 13.15.] nullius ante Ciceronianam vetustior memoria est. ib. 16.

the reason of the great variety of his houses, and of their fituation in the most conspicuous parts of Italy, along the course of the Appian road: that they might occur at every stage to the obfervation of travellers, and lie commodious for the reception and entertainment of his friends.

THE reader perhaps, when he reflects on what the old writers have faid of the mediocrity of his paternal estate, will be at a loss to conceive whence all his revenues flowed, that enabled him to fultain the vast expense of building and maintaining fuch a number of noble houses; but the solution will be easy, when we recollect the great opportunities that he had of improving his original fortunes. The two principal funds of wealth to the leading men of Rome, were; first, the public Magistracies, and Provincial Commands; fecondly, the prefents of Kings, Princes, and foreign states, whom they had obliged by their fervices and protection: and the no man was more moderate in the use of these advantages than Cicero, yet to one of his prudence, economy, and contempt of vicious pleafures, these were abundantly sufficient to answer all his expences [q]: for in his Province of Cilicia, after all the memorable inflances of his generofity, by which he faved to the public a full million sterling, which all other Governors had applied to their private use, yet at the expiration of his year, he left in the hands of the Publicans in Asia near twenty thousand pounds, reserved from the strict dues of his Government, and remitted to him aftewards at Rome

funt nostris quidem moribus, Ad Quint. 2. 15. & ea funt ad explicandum ex-

Rome [r]. But there was another way of acquiring money, esteemed the most reputable of any, which brought large and frequent supplies to him, the legacies of deceased friends. It was the peculiar custom of Rome, for the Clients and dependents of families, to bequeath at their death to their Patrons some considerable part of their estates, as the most effectual testimony of their respect and gratitude; and the more a man received in this way, the more it redounded to his credit. Thus Cicero mentions it to the honor of Lucullus, that while he governed Asia as Proconful, many great estates were left to bim by will [s]: and Nepos tells us, in praise of Atticus, that he succeeded to many inheritances of the fame kind, bequeathed to him on no other account, than of his friendly and amiable temper [t]. Cicero had his full share of these testamentary donations; as we see from the many instances of them mentioned in his Letters [u]; and when he was falfely reproached by Antony, with being neglected on these occasions, he declared in his reply, that he had gained from this fingle article about two bundred thousand pounds, by the free and voluntary gifts of dying friends; not the forged wills of persons unknown to bim; with which he charged Antony x.

His

[r] Ego in cistophoro in Asia habeo ad H S. bis & vicies, hujus pecuniæ permutatione sidem nostram facile tuebere. Ad Att. xi. 1.

[1] Maximas audio tibi, L. Luculle, pro tua eximia liberalitate, maximisque benesiciis in tuos, venisse hereditates. pr. Flacc. 34. [1] Multas enim hereditates nulla alia re, quam bonitate est consecutus. Vit. Attic. 21.

[u] Ad Att. 2. 20. xi. 2. pr. Mil. 18.

[x] Hereditates mihi negasti venire—ego enim amplius H. S. ducenties acceptum hereditatibus retuli me

His moral character was never blemished by the stain of any habitual vice; but was a shining pattern of virtue to an age, of all others the most licentious and profligate [y]. His mind was superior to all the fordid passions which engross little souls; avarice, envy, malice, luft. If we fift his familiar letters, we cannot discover in them the least hint of any thing base, immodest, spiteful, or perfidious; but an uniform principle of benevolence, justice, love of his friends and country, flowing through the whole, and inspiring all his thoughts and actions. Tho' no man ever felt the effects of other peoples envy more feverely than he, yet no man was ever more free from it: this is allowed to him by all the old writers, and is evident indeed from his works; where we find him perpetually praifing and recommending whatever was laudable, even in a rival or an adversary; celebrating merit where-ever it was found; whether in the ancients or his contemporaries; whether in Greeks or Romans; and verifying a maxim which he had declared in a speech to the Senate, that no man could be envious of another's virtue, who was conscious of his own [z].

His fprightly wit would naturally have recommended him to the favor of the Ladies; whose company he used to frequent when young, and with many of whom of the first quality, he was oft engaged in his riper years, to confer about the interests of their husbands, brothers,

10

me nemo, nisi amicus, fecit heredem—te is, quem tu vidisti nunquam—Phil. 2. 16.

[y] Cum vita fuerit integra, nec integra folum fed etiam casta. Erasm. Epist. ad Jo. Ulatten.

[z] Declarasti verum esse id, quod ego semper sensi, neminem alterius, qui sua consideret, virtuti invidere. Phil. x. 1. vid. Plutar.

or relations, who were absent from Rome: yet we meet with no trace of any criminal gallantry, or intrigue with any of them. In a letter to Pætus, towards the end of his life, he gives a jocofe account of his supping with their friend Volumnius, an Epicurean wit of the first class, when the famed Courtefan, Cytheris, who had been Volumnius's flave, and was then his miftress, made one of the company at table: where after feveral jokes on that incident, he fays, that be never suspected that she would have been of the party; and the be was always a lover of chearful entertaintments, yet nothing of that fort had ever pleased him when young, much less now, when he was old [a]. There was one Lady however, called Cærellia, with whom he kept up a particular familiarity and correspondence of letters; on which Dio, as it has been already hinted, abfurdly grounds forne little fcandal, though he owns her to have been feventy years old. She is frequently mentioned in Cicero's Letters, as a lover of books and philosophy; and on that account, as fond of his company and writings: but while, out of complaifance to her fex, and a regard to her uncommon talents, he treated her always with respect; yet by the hints which he drops of her to Atticus, it appears that she had no share of his affections, or any real authority with him [b].

His

[a] Me vero nihil istorum ne juvenem quidem movir unquam, ne nunc senem. Ep. sam. 9. 26.

[b] Mirifice Cærellia, studio vidélicet philosophiæ slagrans, describit a tuis: istos ipsos de sinibus habet — sad Att. 13. 21.] Cærelliæ facile satisseci; nec valde laborare visa est: & si illa, ego certe non laboraremib. 15. 1. it. 12. 51. 14. 19. Fam. 13. 72. Quintil. 6. 3. Dio. 303.

His failings were as few as were ever found in any eminent genius; fuch as flowed from his constitution, not his will; and were chargeable rather to the condition of his humanity, than to the fault of the man. He was thought to be too fanguin in prosperity, too desponding in adversity; and apt to persuade himself in each fortune, that it would never have an end [c]. This is Pollio's account of him: which feems in general to be true: Brutus touches the first part of it in one of his letters to him; and when things were going prosperously against Antony, puts him gently in mind, that he feemed to trust too much to his hopes [d]: and he himself allows the fecond, and fays, that if any one was timorous in great and dangerous events, apprehending always the worst, rather than hoping the best, be was the man; and if that was a fault, confesfes himself not to be free from it [e]: yet in explaining afterwards the nature of this timidity, it was fuch, he tells us, as shewed itself rather in foreseeing dangers, than in encountring them: an explication, which the latter part of his life fully confirmed, and above all his death, which no man could fustain with greater courage and resolution [f].

[c] Utinam moderatius secundas res, & fortius adversas ferre potuisset! namque utræque cum venerant ei, mutari eas non posse rebatur. Asin. Poll. apud Sen. Suasor.

[d] Qua in re, Cicero, vir optime ac fortissime, minique merito & meo nomine & Reipub. carissime, minis credere videris spei tuæ—Brut. ad Cic. 4.

[e] Nam si quisquam est timidus in magnis periculosisque rebus, semperque magis adversos rerum exitus metuens, quam sperans secundos, is ego sum: & si
hoc vitium est, eo me non carere consiteor. Ep. sam. 6.

[/] Parum fortis videbatur quibusdam: quibus optime respondit ipse, non se timidum in suscipiendis, sed in

But the most conspicuous and glaring pasfion of his foul was, the love of glory and thirst of praise: a passion, that he not onely avowed, but freely indulged; and fometimes, as he himfelf confesses, to a degree even of vanity [g]. This often gave his enemies a plaufible handle of ridiculing his pride and arrogance [b]; while the forwardness that he shewed to celebrate his own merits in all his public speeches, seemed to justify their censures: and since this is generally considered as the grand soible of his life, and has been handed down implicitly from age to age, without ever being fairly examined, or rightly understood, it will be proper to lay open the fource from which the passion itself flowed, and explane the nature of that glory, of which he professes himself so fond.

TRUE glory then, according to his own definition of it, is a wide and illustrious fame of many and great benefits conferred upon our friends, our country, or the whole race of mankind [i]: it is not, he says, the empty blast of popular favor, or the applause of a giddy multitude, which all wise men had ever despised, and none more than himself, but the consenting praise of all bonest men, and the incorrupt testimony of those who

can

providendis periculis: quod probavit morte quoque ipsa, quam præstantissimo suscepit animo. Quintil. l. 12. 1.

[g] Nunc quoniam laudis avidissimi semper suimus. [Ad Att. 1. 15.] Quin etiam quod est subinane in nobis, & non doundos ov, bellum est enim sua vitia nosse [ib. 2. 17.] Sum etiam avidior etiam, quam satis est, gloriæ.

Ep. fam. 9. 14.

[b] Et quoniam hoc reprehendis, quod solere me dicas de me ipso gloriosus prædicare—Pro Dom. 35.

[i] Si quidem gloria est illustris ac pervagata multorum & magnorum vel in suos, vel in patriam, vel in omne genus hominum sama meritorum.—Pro Marcel. 8.

can judge of excellent merit, which resounds always to virtue, as the eccho to the voice; and fince ir is the general companion of good actions, ought not to be rejected by good men. That those who aspired to this glory, were not to expect ease or pleasure, or tranquillity of life for their pains; but must give up their own peace to secure the peace of others; must expose themselves to storms and dangers for the public good; sustain many battels with the audacious and the wicked, and some even with the powerful: in short, must behave themselves so, as to give their citizens cause to rejoice that they had ever been born [k]. This is the notion that he inculcates every where of true glory: which is furely one of the noblest principles that can inspire a human breast; implanted by God in our nature, to dignify and exalt it; and always found the strongest in the best and most elevated minds; and to which we owe every thing great and laudable, that History has to offer to us, thro' all the ages of the hea-Vol. III.

quam remotus & natura, & magis etiam, ut mihi quidem fentire videor, ratione atque doctrina, ab inani laude & fermonibus vulgi, ego profecto is fum.—Ep. fam. 15.4.

Est enim gloria-consentiens laus bonorum; incorrupta vox bene judicantium de excellente virtute : ea virtuti resonat tanquam imago: quæ quia recte factorum plerumque comes est, non est bonis viris repudianda. Tusc. quæft. 3. 2.

Qui autem bonam famam

[k] Si quisquam fuit un- ria nominari potest, expetunt, aliis otium quærere debent & voluptates, non fibi. Sudandum est his pro communibus commodis, adeundæ inimicitiæ, subeundæ sæpe pro Repub. tempestates. Cum multis audacibus, improbis, nonnunquam etiam potentibus, dimicandum. Pro. Sext. 66.

Carum esse civem, bene de Repub. mereri, laudari, coli, diligi, gloriosum estquare ita guberna Rempub. ut natum effe te cives tui gaudeant : fine quo nec beatus, nec clarus quifquam elle bonorum, quæ sola vera glo- potest. Phil. 1. 14.

then world. There is not an instance, says Cicero, of a man's exerting himself ever with praise and virtue in the dangers of his country, who was not drawn to it by the bopes of glory, and a regard to posterity [1]. Give me a boy, says Quintilian, whom praise excites, whom glory warms: for fuch a scholar was sure to answer all his hopes, and do credit to his discipline [m]. Whether posterity will have any respect for me, says Pliny, I know not; but am sure that I have deserved some from it: I will not say by my wit, for that would be arrogant; but by the zeal, by the pains, by the reverence, which I have always paid to it [n].

IT will not feem strange, to observe the wifest of the ancients pushing this principle to so great a length, and confidering glory as the ampleft reward of a well-spent life [0]; when we reflect, that the greatest part of them had no notion of any other reward or futurity; and even those who believed a state of happiness to the good, yet entertained it with fo much diffidence, that they indulged it rather as a wish, than a well-grounded hope; and were glad therefore to lay hold on that which seemed to be with-

in

Neque quifquam nostrum in Reipub. periculis; cum laude ac virtute versatur, quin fpe posteritatis, fructuque ducatur. Pro C. Rabir. x.

dennda inimic

[m] Mihi detur ille puer, quem laus excitet, quem gloria juvet. Hie erit alendus ambitu - in hoc defidiam nunquam verebort Quintil. esudeant r tille quo sicoons

[n] - Posteris an aliqua cura nostri, nescio. Nos certe meremur, ut fit aliqua: non dico, ingenio; id enim fuperbum; fed fludio, fed labore, fed reverentia posterum.

Plin. Ep.

[o] Sed tamen ex omnibus præmiis virtutis, fi effet habenda ratio premiorum, amplissimum esse pramium gloriam. Effe hane unam, quæ brevitatem vitæ polleritatis memoria consolaretur.-Pro Mil. 35.

in their reach, a futurity of their own creating; an immortality of fame and glory from the applause of posterity. This, by a pleasing fiction, they looked upon as a propagation of life, and an eternity of existence; and had no small comfort in imagining, that tho' the fense of it should not reach to themselves, it would extend at least to others; and that they should be doing good still when dead, by leaving the example of their virtues to the imitation of mankind. Thus Cicero, as he often declares, never looked upon that to be his life, which was confined to this narrow circle on earth, but confidered his acts. as feeds fown in the immense field of the universe. to raife up the fruit of glory and immortality to him thro' a succession of infinite ages: nor has he been frustrated of his hope, or disappointed of his end; but as long as the name of Rome fublifts, or as long as learning, virtue and liberty preserve any credit in the world, he will be great and glorious in the memory of all posterity.

As to the other part of the charge, or the proof of his vanity, drawn from bis boasting so frequently of himself in his speeches both to the Senate and the People, tho' it may appear to a common reader to be abundantly confirmed by his writings; yet if we attend to the circumstances of the times, and the part which he acted in them, we shall find it not onely excusable, but in some degree even necessary. The fate of Rome was now brought to a crisis; and the contending parties were making their last efforts, either to oppress or preserve it: Cicero was the head of those who stood up for its liberty; which intirely depended on the influence of his counfils: he had many years therefore been the common mark of the rage and malico of all who were X 2 aiming

aiming at illegal powers, or a tyranny in the state; and while these were generally supported by the military power of the Empire, he had no other arms or means of defeating them, but his authority with the Senate and People, grounded on the experience of his fervices, and the persuasion of his integrity: so that, to obviate the perpetual calumnies of the factious, he was obliged to inculcate the merit and good effects of his counfils; in order to confirm people in their union and adherence to them, against the intrigues of those, who were employing all arts to subvert them. The frequent commemoration of bis acts, fays Quintilian, was not made so much for glory, as for defence; to repel calumny, and vindicate his measures when they were attacked [p]: and this is what Cicero himself declared in all his fpeeches; "that no man ever heard "him fpeak of himself but when he was forced " to it: that when he was urged with fictitious * crimes, it was his custom to answer them with his real fervices: and if ever he faid any "thing glorious of himself, it was not thro' a " fondness of praise, but to repel an accusation " [q]: that no man who had been conversant " in great affairs, and treated with particular

[p] Vigefimus annus est, cum omnes scelerati me unam Quintil. xi. 1. petunt. Phil. 12. x. 6. 6.

plus vendicat fibi; erant enim 35, 36.

tuenda. cum objicerentur.

[9] Quis unquam audivit. At plerumque illud quoque cum ego de me nisi coactus non fine aliqua ratione secit. ac necessario dicerem ?-di-Ut illorum, quæ egeratin cendum igitur est id, quod Consulatu frequens comme- non dicerem nisi coactus: moratio, possit videri non nihil enim unquam de me gloriz magis quam defensioni dixi sublatius asciscendz lau-data—plerumque contra ini- dis causa potius, quam crimicos atque obtrectatores minis depellendi-pro Dom.

envy, could refute the contumely of an ene-" my, without touching upon his own praises; " and after all his labors for the common fafe-" ty, if a just indignation had drawn from him " at any time what might feem to be vain-"glorious, it might reasonably be forgiven to him [r]: that when others were filent about " him, if he could not then forbear to speak of " himself, that indeed would be shameful; but " when he was injured, accused, exposed to " popular odium, he must certainly be allowed " to affert his liberty, if they would not fuffer him to retain his dignity [s]." This then was the true state of the case, as it is evident from the facts of his history: he had an ardent love of glory, and an eager thirst of praise: was pleased, when living, to hear his acts applauded; yet more still with imagining, that they would ever be celebrated when he was dead: a passion, which for the reasons already hinted, had always the greatest force on the greatest souls: but it must needs raise our contempt and indignation, to fee every conceited pedant, and trifling declamer, who know little of Cicero's real character, and less still of their own, prefuming to call him the vainest of mortals.

X 3

But

[/] Potest quisquam vir in rebus magnis cum invidia versatus, satis graviter contra inimici contumeliam, sine sua laude respondere?—

Quanquam fi me tantis laboribus pro communi falute perfunctum efferret aliquando ad gloriam in refutandis maledictis improborum hominum animi quidam dolor, quis non ignosceret?—de Harus,

[1] Si, cum cæteri de nobis filent, non etiam nosmet ipsi tacemus, grave. Sed si lædimur, si accusamur, si in invidiam vocamur, prosecto concedetis, ut nobis libertatem retinere liceat, si minus liceat dignitatem. Pro Sylle 29.

But there is no point of light, in which we can view him with more advantage or fatisfaction to ourselves, than in the contemplation of his learning, and the furprizing extent of his knowledge. This thines to conspicuous in all the monuments which remain of him, that it even leffens the dignity of his general character; while the idea of the scholar absorbs that of the Senator; and by confidering him as the greatest writer, we are apt to forget, that he was the greatest Magistrate also of Rome. We learn our Latin from him at school; our stile and sentiments at the College: here the generality take their leave of him, and feldom think of him more, but as of an Orator, a Moralift, or Philosopher of Antiquity. But it is with characters as with pictures; we cannot judge well of a fingle part, without furveying the whole; fince the perfection of each depends on its proportion and relation to the rest; while in viewing them all together, they mutually reflect an additional grace upon each other. His learning, confider'd separately, will appear admirable; yet much more to, when it is found in the possession of the first Statesman of a mighty Empire: his abilities as a Statesman are glorious; yet furprize us still more, when they are observed in the ablest Scholar and Philosopher of his age: but an union of both these characters exhibits that fublime specimen of perfection, to which the best parts with the best culture can exalt human nature [t].

No

nescio quid præclarum ac fingulare solere extistere. Pro Arch. 7.

^[1] Cum ad naturam eximiam atque illustrem accessesit ratio quadam, conformatioque doctrina, tum illud

No man, whose life had been wholly spent in study, ever left more numerous or more valuable fruits of his learning, in every branch of science, and the politer arts; in Oratory, Poetry, Philosophy, Law, History, Criticism, Politics, Ethics; in each of which he equalled the greatest masters of his time; in some of them excelled all men of all times [u]. His remaining works, as voluminous as they appear, are but a finall part of what he really published; and tho' many of these are come down to us maimed by time, and the barbarity of the intermediate ages, yet they are justly esteemed the most precious remains of all antiquity; and like the Sibylline books, if more of them had perished, would have been equal still to any price.

His industry was incredible, beyond the example, or even conception of our days: this was the secret by which he performed such wonders, and reconciled perpetual study with perpetual affairs. He suffered no part of his leisure to be idle, or the least interval of it to be lost; but what other people gave to the public shews, to pleasures, to seasts, nay, even to sleep, and the ordinary refreshments of nature, he generally gave to his books, and the enlargement of his knowledge [x]. On days of business, when he had any thing particular to compose, he had no

[u] M. Cicero in libro, qui interptus est de Jure civili in artem redigendo, verba hæc posuit—[A. Gell. 1.22.] M. Tullius non mado inter agendum nunquam est destitutus scientia junis, sed etiam componere aliqua de eo cæperat. [Quintil. 12.3.] At M. Tullium, non illum habemus Euphranorem, circa

plurium artium species præstantem, sed in omnibus, quæ in quoque laudantur, eminentissimum. Ib. c. x.

[x] Quantum cæteris ad fuas res obeundas, quantum ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates, & ipsam requiem animi & corporis conceditur temporum: quantum alii tri-

buunt

other time for meditating, but when he was taking a few turns in his walks, where he used to dictate his thoughts to bis Scribes, who attended him [y]. We find many of his letters dated before day-light; some from the Senate; others from bis meals, and the croud of bis morning

levee [Z].

No compositions afford more pleasure than the Epiftles of great men: they touch the heart of the reader, by laying open that of the writer, The Letters of eminent wits, eminent scholars, eminent statesmen, are all esteemed in their several kinds; but there never was a collection that excell'd fo much in every kind as Cicero's, for the purity of stile, the importance of the matter, or the dignity of the persons concern'd in them. We have about a thou fand still remaining, all written after he was forty years old; which are but a small part, not onely of what he wrote, but of what were actually published after his death by his fervant Tiro. For we fee many volumes of them quoted by the Ancients, which

buunt tempestivis conviviis: quantum denique aleæ, quantum pilæ, tantum mihi egomet ad hæc studia recolenda fumiero_pro Arch. 6.

Cui fuerit ne otium quidem unquam otiosum. Nam quas tu commemoras legere te solere orationes, cum otiofus fis, has ego scripsi ludis & feriis, ne omnino unquam essem otiosus. Pro Planc. 27.

[v] Ita quicquid conficio aut cogito, in ambulationis fere tempus confero. [Ad cui temporis nihil haberem. & cum recreandæ voculæ nis. Ad Brut. l. 2. 4.

causa mihi necesse esset ambulare, hæc dictavi ambulans. Ad. Att. 2. 23.

[z] Cum hæc scribebam ante lucem. [Ad Quint. 3. 2. 7] Ante lucem cum scriberem contra Epicureos, de eodem oleo & opera exaravi nescio quid ad te, & ante lucem dedi. Deinde cum, fomno repetito, fimul cum fole experrectus essem ._ Ad Att. 13. 38. Hæc ad te scripsi apposita secunda menfa. [ib. 14. 6. 21. 15. 13.] Quint. 3. 3.] Nam cum va- Hoc paullulum exaravi ipia in turba matutinæ falutatioare utterly loft; as the first book of his Letters to Licinius Calvus; the first also to Q. Axius; a second book to his son; a second also to Corn. Nepos; a third book to J. Cæsar; a third to Octavius; and a third also to Pansa; an eighth book to M. Brutus; and a ninth to A. Hirtius. Of all which, excepting a few to J. Cæfar and Brutus, we have nothing more left than some scattered phrases and sentences, gathered from the citations of the old Critics and Grammarians [a]. What makes these Letters still more estimable is, that he had never designed them for the public, nor kept any copies of them; for the year before his death, when Atticus was making some inquiry about them, he sent him word, that be bad made no collection; and that Tiro had preferved onely about seventy [b]. Here then we may expect to fee the genuin man, without disguise or affectation; especially in his letters to Atticus, to whom he talked with the fame frankness as to himself; opened the rife and progress of each thought; and never enter'd into any affair without his particular advice: fo that these may be considered as the memoirs of bis times; containing the most authentic materials for the History of that age, and laying open the grounds and motives of all the great events that happened in it [c]: and it is the want of attention to them, that makes the generality of writers on these times so superficial, as well as erroneous; while they chuse to tranfcribe

[a] See the fragments of his Letters in the Editions of his works.

[b] Mearum Epistolarum nulla est ovazazá. Sed habet Tiro instar septuaginta. Ad At. 16. 5.

[] Quæ qui legat non

multum desideret historiam contextam eorum temporum; sic enim omnia de studiis principum, vitiis ducum, ac mutationibus Reipub. perferipta sunt, ut nihil in his non apparet. Corn. Nep. vitt. At. 16.

fcribe the dry and imperfect relations of the later Greek Historians, rather than take the pains to extract the original account of facts from one

who was a principal actor in them.

In his familiar Letters he affected no particular elegance or choice of words, but took the first that occurred from common use and the language of conversation [d]. Whenever he was disposed to joke, his wit was easy and natural; flowing always from the fubject, and throwing out what tame uppermost; nor distaining even a bun, when it served to make his friends laugh [e]. In Letters of compliment, some of which were addressed to the greatest men who ever lived, his inclination to please is expressed in a manner agreeable to nature and reason, with the utmost delicacy both of fentiment and diction, yet without any of those pompous titles and lofty epithets, which modern cufrom has introduced into our commerce with the great, and falfely stamped with the name of politeness; though they are the real offforing of barbarifm, and the effect of our degeneracy both in taste and manners. In his political Letters, all his maxims are drawn from an intimate knowledge of men and things: he always touches the point on which the affair turns; forefees the danger, and foretels the mifchief; which never failed to follow upon the neglect of his counfils; of which there were fo many inflances, that, as an eminent writer of his own time observed of him, bis prudence seemed to be a kind of divination, which foretold every thing

(d) Epistolas vero quotidianis verbis texere solemus. Ep. fam. 9. 21.

venerit. Ad Att. 7. x. 14. 7. In reproaching Antony for

publishing one of his Letters to him, How many jests, says he, are often found in private Letters, which, if made public, might be thought foolish and impertment? Phil. 2. 4. thing that afterwards happened, with the veracity of a Prophet [f]. But none of his Letters do him more credit than those of the recommendatory kind: the others shew his wit and his parts, these his benevolence and his probity: he sollicits the interest of his friends with all the warmth and force of words, of which he was master: and alledges generally some personal reason for his peculiar zeal in the cause, and that his own honor was concerned in the success of it [x].

BUT

[f] Ut facile existimari possit prudentiam quodam-modoesse divinationem. Non enim Cicero ea solum, que vivo se acciderunt, futura prædixit, sed etiam, que nunc usu veniunt, cecinit, ut Vates. Corn. Nep. 16.

[g] An objection may poffibly be made to my character of these letters, from a certain passage in one of them, addressed to a Proconful of Afric, wherein he intimates, that there was a private mark agreed upon between them, which, when affixed to his Letters, would fignify, what real stress he himself laid upon them, and what degree of influence he defired them to have with his friend. [Ep. fam. 13.6] But that feems to relate onely to the particular case of one man, who having great affairs in Afric, was likely to be particularly troublesome both to Cicero and the Proconful; whose general concerns however he recommends in that Letter with the utmost warmth and affe-

ction. But if he had used the same method with all the other Proconfuls and foreign Commanders, it feems not onely reasonable, but necesfary, that a man of his character and authority, whose favor was perpetually follicited by persons of all ranks, should make some distinction between his real friends. whom he recommended for their own fake, and those, whoserecommendationswere extorted from him by the importunity of others: which was frequently the cafe, as he himself declares in these very Letters. Your regard for me, fays he, is so publicly known, that I am importuned by many for recommendations to you. But though I give them sometimes to men of no consequence, yet for the most part, it is to my real friends. Again, Our friend-. Ship, and your affection to me is so illustrious, that I am under a necessity of recommending many people to You: but though it is my duty to wish well to all, whom I recommend:

But his Letters are not more valuable on any account, than for their being the onely monuments of that fort, which remain to us from free Rome. They breath the last words of expiring liberty; a great part of them having been written in the very crisis of its ruin, to rouse up all the virtue, that was left in the honest and the brave, to the defense of their country. The advantage, which they derive from this circumstance, will easily be observed by comparing them with the Epistles of the best and greatest. who florished afterwards in Imperial Rome. Pliny's Letters are justly admired by men of tast: they shew the scholar, the wit, the fine gentleman: yet we cannot but observe a poverty and barrenness through the whole, that betrays the awe of a master. All his stories and reflections terminate in private life; there is nothing important in politics; no great affairs explaned; no account of the motives of public counfils : he had born all the same offices with Cicero, whom in all points he affected to emulate [b]; yet his honors were in effect but nominal; conferred by a fuperior power, and administred by a superior will; and with the old titles of Conful and Proconful, we want still the Statesman, the Politician and the Magistrate. In his Provincial command, where Cicero governed all things with supreme authority, and had Kings attendant on his orders; Pliny durst not venture to repair a Bath; or punish a fugitive slave; or incorporate a company of Masons; till he had first

he choos warmin and after your works only whom I re-

commend: yet I do not live upon the same foot of friend-(bip with them all, &c. Ep. mulari in studiis cupio. Plin.

fam. 13. 70, 71.

1 2 m 1 m 2 m 2 m 2 m

[[]b] Lætaris, quod honoribus ejus infistam, quem æ-Ep. 4. 8.

confulted and obtained the leave of Trajan

[i].

His Historical works are all lost: the Commentaries of his Consulship in Greek; the History of bis own affairs, to his return from exil, in Latin verse; and bis Anecdotes; as well as the pieces, that he published on Natural History; of which Pliny quotes one, upon the wonders of Nature; and another on perfumes [k]. He was meditating likewise a general History of Rome, to which he was frequently urged by his friends, as the onely man capable of adding that glory also to his country, of excelling the Greeks in a species of writing, which, of all others, was at that time the least cultivated by the Romans [1]. But he never found leifure to execute fo great a talk; yet has sketched out a plan of it, which, short as it is, seems to be the best, that can be formed, for the defign of a perfect History.

" HE declares it to be the first and fundamen-" tal law of History, that it should neither dare " to fay any thing that was false, or sear to say

[1] Prusenses, Domine, balneum habent & fordidum & vetus, id itaque indulgentia tua restituere desiderant. Ep. l. x. 34.

Quorum ego supplicium distuli, ut te conditorem disciplinæ militaris, firmatoremque, consulerem de modo

pænæ. Ib. 38. Tu, domine, despice an instituendum putes collegium Fabrorum, Duntaxat hominum cl. ib. 42.

[k] Cicero in Admirandis posuit, &c. Plin. Hist. N.

31. 2. Quod Admirandis suis inseruit M. Cicero. ibid. c. 4. In monumentis M. Ciceronis invenitur; Unguenta gratiora esse, quæ terram, quam quæ crocum fapiant. Hift. N. 13. 3. 17.

[/] Postulatur a te jamdiu. vel flagitatur potius Historia: fic enim putant, te illam tractante, effici posse, ut in hoc etiam genere Græciæ nihil cedamus—ab est enim historia litteris nostris-de Leg.

1. 2, 3.

" any thing that was true; nor give any just " fulpicion either of favor or disaffection: that " in the relation of things, the writer should " observe the order of time, and add also " the description of places: that in all great " and memorable transactions, he should first " explane the councils, then the acts, laftly " the events: that in the counfils, he should " interpole his own judgement on the merit of "them: in the acts, should relate not onely " what was done, but how it was done: in the " events should shew, what share chance or " rashness or prudence had in them: that in re-" gard to persons, he should describe, not " onely their particular actions, but the lives " and characters of all those, who bear an emi-" nent part in the story: that he should illu-" frate the whole in a clear, easy, natural stile; " flowing with a perpetual fmoothness, and " equability; free from the affectation of points " and fentences, or the roughness of judicial " pleadings [m]."

We have no remains likewise of his Poetry, except some fragments occasionally interspersed through his other writings; yet these, as I have before observed, are sufficient to convince us, that his paetical genius, if it had been cultivated with the same care, would not have been inserior to his Oratorial. The two arts are so nearly allied, that an excellency in the one seems to imply a capacity for the other; the same qualities being essential to them both; a sprightly fancy, sertile invention, slowing and numerous diction. It was in Cicero's time, that the old rusticity of the Latin muse first began to be polished

lished by the ornaments of dress, and the harmony of numbers; but the height of perfection, to which it was carried after his death by the succeding generation, as it lest no room for a mediacrity in Poetry, so it quite eclipsed the same of Cicero. For the world always judges of things by comparison, and because he was not so great a Poet, as Virgil and Horace, he was decried as none at all; especially in the Courts of Antony and Augustus; where it was a compliment to the Soverein, and a fashion consequently among their flatterers [n], to make his character ridiculous, where-ever it lay open to them: hence slowed that perpetual raillery, which subsists to this day, on his samous verses;

Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea linguæ. O fortunatam natam me Confule Romam.

and two bad lines picked out by the malice of enemies, and transmitted to posterity, as a specimen of the rest, have served to damn many thousands of good ones. For Plutarch reckons him among the most eminent of the Roman Poets; and Pliny the younger was proud of emulating him in his poetic character [0]; and Quintilian seems to charge the cavils of his censurers to a principle of malignity, [p]. But his own verses carry the surest proof of their merit; being written

[n] Postea vero quam Triumvirali proscriptione confumptus est, passim qui oderant, qui in videbant, qui æmulabantur, adulatores esiam præsentis potentiæ, non responsurum invaserunt. Quin.

[a] Sed ego verear, ne me non fatis deceat, quod decuir M. Tullium—Ep. 1. 5.

[p] In carminibus utinam pepereisset, quæ non desserunt carpere maligni, Quint, zi. 1. written in the best manner of that age, in which he lived, and in the stile of Lucretius; whose Poem he is said to have revised and corrected, for its publication, after Lucretius's death [q]. This however is certain, that he was the constant friend and generous patron of all the celebrated Poets of his time [r]; of Accius; Archias, Chilius; Lucretius; Catullus; who pays his thanks to him in the following lines, for some favor, that he had received from him.

Tully, most eloquent by far
Of all, who have been or who are,
Or who in ages still to come
Shall rise of all the Sons of Rome,
To Thee Catullus gratefull sends
His warmest thanks, and recommends
His humble muse, as much below
All other Poets he, as Thou
All other Patrons dost excell,
In power of words and speaking well [s].

But Poetry was the amusement onely, and relief of his other studies: Eloquence was his distinguishing

[q] Euseb. Chronic.
[r] Adjicis M. Tullium mira benignitate Poetarum ingenia fovisse. Plin. Ep. 3. 15. Ut ex familiari ejus L. Accio Poeta audire sum folitus. [Brut. 197.] Lucretii poemata, ut scribis, lita sunt multis luminibus ingenii, ut multæ tamen artis. Ad Quint. 2.xi. Vid. ad Att. 1. 9, 16.

[1] Disertissime Romuli

Quot sunt, quotque suere,
Marce Tulli,
Quotque post aliis erunt in
annis;
Gratias tibi maximas Catullus
Agit, pessimus omnium
poeta
Tanto pessimus omnium
poeta

Quanto tu optimus omnium patronus.

and a south and

Catull. 47.

stinguishing talent, his foverein attribute: to this he devoted all the faculties of his foul, and attained to a degree of perfection in it, that no mortal ever surpassed: so that as a polite Historian observes, Rome bad but few Orators before bim, whom it could praise; none whom it could admire [1]. Demosthenes was the pattern, by which he formed himself; whom he emulated with fuch fuccess, as to merit, what St. Ferom calls that beautifull eloge; Demosthenes has snatched from thee the glory of being the first; thou from Demosthenes, that of being the onely Orator [u]. The genius, the capacity, the stile and manner of them both were much the fame; their eloquence of that great, fublime and comprehenfive kind, which dignified every fubject, and gave it all the force and beauty of which it was capable: it was that roundness of speaking, as the ancients call it, where there was nothing either redundant or deficient; nothing either to be added or retrenched: their perfections were in all points fo transcendent, and yet fo fimilar, that the Critics are not agreed on which fide to give the preference: Quintilian indeed, the most judicious of them, has given it on the whole to Cicero: but if, as others have thought, Cicero had not all the nerves, the energy, or, as he himself calls it, the thunder of Demostbenes; he VOL. III.

[1] At oratio—ita univerfa sub principe operis sui erupit Tullio; ut delectari ante
eum paucissimis, mirari vero neminem possis — Vell.
Pat. 1.17.

[u] Demosthenem igitur illi, ne solus. Ad Nepotian imitemur. O Dii boni! quid de vita Clericor. Tom. 4. quasi nos aliud agimus, aut Edit. Bened.—

quid allud optamus ? _Brut,

M. Tullius, in quem pulcherrimum illud elogium est; Demosthenes tibi præripust, ne esses primus Orator; tu illi, ne solus. Ad Nepotian. de vita Clericor. Tom. 4. Edit. Bened.— excelled him in the copiousness and elegance of his diction, the variety of his fentiments; and above all, in the vivacity of his wit, and smartness of bis raillery: Demosthenes had nothing jocose or facetious in him; yet by attempting fometimes to jest, shewed, that the thing itself did not displease, but did not belong to him: for as Longinus says, whenever he affetted to be pleasant, be made bimself ridiculous; and if be bappened to raise a laugh, it was chiefly upon himfelf. Whereas Cicero, from a perpetual fund of wit and ridicule, had the power always to please, when he found himself unable to convince; and could put his Judges into good humor, when he had cause to be afraid of their severity; so that by the opportunity of a well-timed joke, he is faid to have preserved many of his Clients from manifest ruin [x].

YET in all this height and fame of his eloquence, there was another fet of Orators at the fame time in Rome; men of parts and learning, and of the first quality; who, while they acknowledged the superiority of his genius, yet censured his diction, as not truely Attic or classical; some calling it loose and languid; others tumid and exuberant [y]. These men affected

[a] Huic diversa virtus, quæ risum judicis movendo — plerique Demosthenisacultatem hujus rei defuisse credunt, Ciceroni modum—nec videri potest noluisse Demosthenes, cujus pauca admodum dista—ostendunt non displicuisse illi jocos, sed non contigisse—mihi vero—mira quædam videtur in Cicerone suisse urbanitas—[Quintil.

1. 6. 3. ib. x. 1. Longin. de Sublim. c. 34.] Ut pro L. Flacco, quem reputundarum reum joci oportunitate de manifestissimis criminibus exemit—&c. Macrob. Sat. 2.

a minute

[y] Constat nec Ciceroni quidem obtrectatores desuisse, quibus inflatus & tumens, nec satis pressus, supra modum exultans, & superfluens, & parum

a minute and fastidious correctness; pointed sentences, short and concise periods, without a syllable to spare in them; as if the perfection of Oratory confifted in a frugality of words, and in crouding our fentiments into the narrowest compass [z]. The chief Patrons of this tast were, M. Brutus, Licinius, Calvus, Afinius Pollio, and Salluft; whom Seneca feems to treat, as the author of the obscure, abrupt, and sententious stile [a]. Cicero often ridicules these pretenders to Attic elegance; as judging of eloquence, not by the force of the art, but their own weakness; and resolving to decry what they could not attain; and to admire nothing, but what they could imitate [b]: and though their way of speaking. he fays, might please the ear of a critic or a scholar, yet it was not of that sublime and sonorous kind, whose end was not onely to instruct, but to move an audience: an eloquence, born for the multitude; whose merit was always shewn by it's effects, of exciting admiration, and extorting shouts of applause; and on which there never was any difference of judgement between the learned and the populace [c].

Y 2 THIS

parum Atticus videretur, &c. Tacit. Dialog. 18. Vid. Quintil. 12. 1.

[z] Mihi falli multum videntur, qui folos esse Atticos credunt, tenues & lucidos & fignificantes, sed quadam eloquentiæ frugalitate
contentos, ac manum semper intra pallium continentes,
Quintil. xii. c, x.

[a] Sic Sallustio vigente, amputatæ sententiæ, & verba ante expectatum cadentia, & obscura brevitas, suere procultu. L. Sen. Epift. 114.

[b] Itaque nobis monendi funt ii, qui aut dici se desiderant Atticos, aut ipsi Attice volunt dicere, ut mirentur Demosthenem maxime eloquentiamque ipsius viribus, non imbecilitate sua, metiantur. Nunc enim tantum quisque laudat, quantum se posse sperat imitari. Orator. 248. vid. Tusc. Quæst.

[e] Sed ad Calvum revertamur: qui-metuens ne vitiofum

This was the genuin eloquence, that prevailed in Rome as long as Cicero lived: his were the onely speeches that were relished or admired by the City; while those Attic orators, as they called themselves, were generally despised and frequently deserted by the audience in the midst of their harangues [d]. But after Cicero's death and the ruin of the Republic, the Roman oratory funk of course with it's liberty, and a false fpecies univerfally prevailed: when instead of that elate, copious, and flowing eloquence, which launched out freely into every fubject, there fucceded a guarded, dry, fententious kind; full of labored turns and studied points; and proper onely for the occasion on which it was employed; the making panegyrics, and fervile compliments to their Tyrants. This change of ftile may be observed in all their writers from Cicero's time, to the younger Pliny; who carried it to its utmost perfection in his celebrated Panegyric on the Emperor Trajan: which, as it is justly admired for the elegance of diction, the beauty of fentiments, and 'the delicacy of it's compliments, so is become in a manner the standard of fine speaking to modern times: where it is common to hear the pretenders to Criticism descanting on the tedious length and fpiritless exuberance of the Ciceronian periods. But

tiosum colligeret, etiam verum sanguinem deperdebat. Itaque ejus oratio nimia religione attenuata, doctis & attente audientibus erat illustris; a multitudine autem & a foro, cui nata eloquentia est, devorabatur. Brut. 410. Itaque nunquam de bono

Oratore & non bono doctis hominibus cum populo diffensio suit—&c. ibid. 297.

[d] At cum isti Attici dicant, non modo a corona, quod est ipsum miserabile, sed etiam ab Advocatis relinquuntur. Ib. 417.

Seed and veid wanted 3

But the superiority of Cicero's eloquence, as it was acknowledged by the politest age of free Rome; so it has received the most authentic confirmation, that the nature of things can admit, from the concurrent sense of nations; which, neglecting the productions of his rivals and contemporaries, have preserved to us his inestimable remains, as a specimen of the most perfect manner of speaking, to which the language of mortals can be exalted: so that, as Quintilian declared of him even in that early age, he has acquired such fame with posterity, that Cicero is not reckoned so much the name of a man, as of eloquence itself [e].

But we have hitherto been considering chiefly the exterior part of Cicero's character, and shall now attempt to penetrate the recesses of his mind, and discover the real source and principle of his actions, from a view of that Philosophy, which he professed to follow, as the general rule of his life. This, as he often declares, was drawn from the Academic set; which deriv'd it's origin from Socrates, and it's name from a celebrated Gymnasium, or place of exercise in the suburbs of Athens, called the Academy; where the professors of that school used to hold their lectures and philosophical disputations [f].

[e] Apud posteros vero id consecutus, ut Cicero jam non hominis, sed eloquentia nomen habeatur. Quintil.

f

se

f

[f] Illi autem, qui Platonis instituto in Academia, quod est alterum gymnasium, cœtus erant & sermones habere soliti, e loci vocabulo nomen habuerunt. Academ.

N. B. This celebrated place, which Serv. Sulpicius calls, the noblest Gymnasium of the world, took it's name from one Ecademus, an ancient Hero, who possessed in the time of the Tyndaridæ. But samous as it was, it was purchased afterwards for about one bundred pounds, and dedicated to the public,

Socrates was the first who banished Physics out of Philosophy, which till his time had been the fole object of it; and drew it off from the obfcure and intricate inquiries into nature, and the constitution of the heavenly bodies, to questions of morality; of more immediate use and importance to the happiness of man; concerning the true notions of virtue and vice, and the natural difference of good and ill [g]: and as he found the world generally prepoffessed with false notions on those subjects, so his method was, not to affert any opinion of his own, but to refute the opinions of others, and attack the errors in vogue; as the first step towards preparing men for the reception of truth, or what came the hearest to it, probability [b]. While he himself therefore professed to know nothing, he used to fift out the feveral doctrines of all the pretenders to science; and then teize them with a feries of questions so contrived, as to reduce them.

for the convenience of walks and exercises for the Citizens of Athens; and was gradually improved and adorned by the rich, who had received benefit or pleasure from it, with plantations of groves, stately portico's, and commodious apartments, for the particular use of the Professors or Masters of the Academic School; where several of them are faid to have spent their lives, and to have refided to thrictly, as fcarce ever to have come within the City. Ep. fam. 4. 12. Plut. in Theseo. 15. Diog. Laert. in Plato. 5. 7. Plutar. de Exil. 603.

[g] Socrates—id quod constat inter omnes, primus a rebus occultis, & ab ipsa natura involutis—avocavisse philosophiam & ad vitam communem adduxisse, ut de virtutibus & vitiis, omninoque de bonis rebus & malis quæreret, &c. ibid. vid. it, Tusc. Quæst. 5. 4.

[b] E quibus nos id potissimum consecuti sumus, quo Socratem usum arbitrabamur; ut nostram ipsi sententiam tegeremus, errore alios levaremus; & in omni disputatione, quid esset simillimum veri quæreremus. Tusc. Quæst. 5. 4. it. 1.4. them, by the course of their answers, to an evident absurdity, and the impossibility of defend-

ing what they had at first affirmed [i].

But Plato did not strictly adhere to the method of his mafter Socrates; and his followers wholly deferted it: for instead of the focratic modefty of affirming nothing, and examining every thing, they turned Philosophy, as it were, into an art; and formed a system of opinions, which they delivered to their disciples, as the peculiar tenets of their feet [k]. Plato's Nephew, Speufippus, who was left the heir of his fchool, continued his lectures, as his fucceffors also did, in the Academy, and preserv'd the name of Academics; whilst Aristotle, the most eminent of Plato's scholars, retired to another Gymnasium, called the Lyceum; where from a cufrom which he and his followers observed, of teaching and difputing as they walked in the Portico's of the place, they obtained the name of Peripatetics, or the walking Philosophers. These two sects, tho' differing in name, agreed generally in things, or in all the principal points of their philosophy: they placed the chief happiness of man in virtue, with a competency of external goods; taught the existence of a God, a Providence, the immortality of the foul, and a future state of rewards and punishments [1].

4 THI

[i] Socrates enim percunctando atque interrogando elicere folebat opiniones eorum, quibuscum disserebat —de Fin. z. 1.

[k] Illam autem Socraticam dubitationem de omnibus rebus, & nulla adfirmatione adhibita consuetudinem disferendi reliquerunt. Ita acta est, quod minime So[/] Sed idem fons erat utrifque, & eadem rerum expetendarum, fugiendarumque partitio. [Acad. 1. 4, 6, 8.] Peripateticos & Academicos, nominibus differentes, re congruentes. Ib. 2. 5.

This was the state of the Academic school under five fuccessive masters, who governed it after Plato; Speufippus, Xenocrates, Polemo, Crates, Crantor; till Arcefilas the fixth discarded at once all the systems of his Predecessors, and revived the focratic way, of affirming nothing, doubting of all things, and exposing the vanity of the reigning opinions [m]. He alledged the necessity of making this reformation, from that obscurity of things, which had reduced Socrates, and all the Ancients before bim, to a confession of their ignorance: he observed, as they had all likewise done, that the senses were narrow, reason infirm, life short, truth immersed in the deep, opinion and custom every subere predominant; and all things involved in darkness [n]. He taught therefore, "That there was no certain know-" ledge or perception of any thing in nature; " nor any infallible criterion of truth and false-" hood; that nothing was fo detestable as rash-" ness; nothing so scandalous to a Philosopher, se as to profes, what was either false or un-"known to him; that we ought to affert no-" thing dogmatically; but in all cases to suf-" pend our affent; and instead of pretending to certainty, content ourselves with opinion, so grounded on probability; which was all that

[m] Arcefilas primum, ex yariis Platonis libris, fermonibusque Socraticis hoc maxime eripuit, nihil esse certi, quod aut sensibus aut animo percipi possit—de Orat.3.18.

[n] Non pertinacia sed earum rerum obscuritate, quæ ad confessionem ignorantiæ adduxerant Socratem, &—omnes pæne veteres; qui ni-

hil cognosci, nihil percepi, nihil sciri posse dixerunt; angustos sensus; imbecillos animos; brevia curricula vitæ; in profundo veritatem demersam; opinionibus & institutis omnia teneri; nihil veritati relinqui; deinceps omnia tenebris circumfusa esse dixerunt. Acad. 1.13.

ed notiner sweap the Alle

was called the new Academy, in distinction from the Platonic, or the Old: which maintained its credit down to Cicero's time, by succession of able Masters; the chief of whom was Carneades, the fourth from Arcesilas; who carried it to its utmost height of glory, and is greatly celebrated by antiquity for the vivacity of his wit

and force of his eloquence [o].

WE must not however imagine, that these Academics continued doubting and fluctuating all their lives in fcepticism and irresolution, without any precise opinions, or settled principle of judging and acting [p]: no; their rule was as certain and confiftent as that of any other fect; as it is frequently explaned by Cicero in many parts of his works. "We are not of that " fort, fays he, whose mind is perpetually wan-" dering in error, without any particular end " or object of its pursuit: for what would such " a mind, or fuch a life indeed be worth, which " had no determinate rule or method of thinking and acting? But the difference between " us and the rest is, that whereas they call " fome things certain, and others uncertain; " we call the one probable, the other improbase ble.

[0] Hanc Academiam novam appellant;—quæ usque ad Carneadem perducta, qui quartus ab Arcesila fuit, in eadem Arcesilæ ratione permansit — [Academ. 1.13.] Ut hæc in philosophia ratio contra omnia disserendi, nullamque rem aperte judicandi, profecta a Socrate, repetita ab Arcesila, consirmata a Carneade, usque ad nostram vi-

guit ætatem. [de Nat. Deor. 1.5.] Hinc hæc recentior Academia emanavit, in qua exstitit divina quadam celeritate ingenii, dicendique copia Carneades—De Orat. 3.18.

[p] Neque enim Academici, cum in utramque disserunt partem, non secundum alteram vivunt. Quintil. l. 12. 1.

(e) Perkin Pertin

ble. For what reason then should not I pur-" fue the probable, reject the contrary, and declining the arrogance of affirming, avoid the imputation of rashness; which of all things is the farthest removed from wisdom [a]? Again; we do not pretend to fay, that there " is no fuch thing as truth; but that all truths have fome falsehoods annexed to them, of fo " near a refemblance and fimilitude, as to afs ford no certain note of distinction, whereby " to determine our judgement and affent: " whence it follows also of course, that there " are many things probable; which, tho' not of perfectly comprehended, yet on account of "their attractive and specious appearance, are " fufficient to govern the life of a wife man [r]. In another place, there is no difference, favs he, between us and those who pretend to know " things; but that they never doubt of the " truth of what they maintain; whereas we have many Probabilites, which we readily embrace, but dare not affirm. By this we of preserve our judgement free and unprejudi-" ced, and are under no necessity of defending what is prescribed and injoined to us: whereas in the other fects, men are tied down to certain doctrines, before they are capable of " judging what is the best; and in the most " infirm part of life, drawn either by the au-" thority of a friend, or charmed with the first " mafter whom they happen to hear, they form " a judgement of things unknown to them; " and to whatever school they chance to be drier ven by the tide, cleave to it as fast as the " Ovster to the rock [s]."

[1] Academ. 2.3.

[9] De Offic. 2. 2. N. B. This sketch of the [r] De Nat. Deor. 1. 5. principles of the Academy, may enable us to decide that Thus the Academy held the proper medium between the rigor of the Stoic and the indifference of the Sceptic: the Stoics embraced all their doctrines, as so many fix'd and immutable truths, from which it was infamous to depart; and by making this their point of honor, held all their disciples in an inviolable attachment to them. The Sceptics on the other hand, observed a perfect neutrality towards all opinions; maintaining all of them to be equally uncertain; and that we could not affirm of any thing, that it was this or that, since there was as much reason to take it for the one as for the other, or for neither of them; and wholly indifferent which of

famous contest among the Critics, about the reading of the following passage in Cicero's treatife on the nature of the Gods. [l. 1. 1.] De qua tam variæ funt dostiffimorum bominum, tamque discrepantes sententiæ, ut magno argumento effe debeat, caufam, id est, principium philosophiæ am ;] prudenterque Academicos a rebus incertis assensionem cobibuiffe. The question is, whether we should read scientiam, or inscientiam: the greatest part of the editions and MSS gives us the first; but Aldus Manutius and Dr. Davies prefer the fecond: which I take to be the true reading. For Cicero's meaning in this place is, from the diffentions of the learned on a subject of so great importance, to illustrate a fundamental maxim of his fect, that the natural obscurity of things, and man's consciousness

of his ignorance was the first cause or incitement to the fludy of Philosophy. Plato had expressed the same sentiment before him, where he fays, that to wonder at things was the common affection of a Philosopher, and what alone rave rife, or a beginning to Philofopby itself: [in Theætet. p. 155. Edit. Serr.] whence Cicero draws this inference. which he frequently inculcates in other parts of his works, that the Academy therefore acted prudently, in with-bolding it's affent, and maintaining, that there was no fuch thing as Science, or absolute certainty within the reach of man. If this then be the sense of the passage, as it appears evidently to be. it necessarily requires inscientiam to make it confiftent See the translation of L'Abbe D'Olivet, and bis notes on the place, and Edit. Davis.

them we thought it to be: thus they lived, without ever engaging themselves on any side of a question; directing their lives in the mean time by natural affections, and the laws and customs of their country [t]. But the Academics, by adopting the probable instead of the certain, kept the balance in an equal posse between the two extremes; making it their general principle, to observe a moderation in all their opinions; and, as Plutarch, who was one of them, tells us, paying a great regard always to that old maxim;

Mnder any; ne quid nimis [u].

As this school then was in no particular opposition to any, but an equal adversary to all, or rather to dogmatical Philosophy in general, so every other sect, next to itself, readily gave it the preserence to the rest: which universal concession of the second place is commonly thought to inser a right to the first [x]: and if we restect on the state of the Heathen world, and what they themselves so often complain of, the darkness that surrounded them, and the insinite dissentions of the best and wisest on the surdamental questions of religion and morality [y]; we must necessarily allow, that the Academic manner of philosophizing was of all others the most rational and modest, and the best adapted

Pyrrhon. Hypotyp. A. Gell. xi. 5.

[u]—μέλων εἰς πάντα, πι μήσεν τὸ μηθὲν άζαν, ἐν Ακαθημία γενόμθυ ; εἶπον. in lib. de Ei apud Delph. 387. it. lib. de primo frigido. fin.

[x] Academico Sapienti ab omnibus cæterarum Sectarum — secundæ partes dantur— ex quo potest probabiliter confici, eum recte primum esse suo judicio, qui omnium cæterorum judicio sit secundus. Fragment. Academ. ex Augustin.

to

[y] De Nat. Deor. 1. 1. 3. Academ. 2. 3. 1. 13.

Continue of the same of the sa

to the discovery of truth: whose peculiar character it was, to encourage inquiry; to fift every question to the bottom; to try the force of every argument, till it had found its real moment, or the precise quantity of its weight [2]. This it was that induced Cicero, in his advanced life and ripened judgement, to defert the old Academy, and declare for the new; when from a long experience of the vanity of those sects, who called themselves the proprietors of truth, and the fole guides of life, and through a despair of finding any thing certain, he was glad, after all his pains, to take up with the probable [a]. But the genius and general character of both the Academys was in some measure still the same: for the old, tho' it professed to teach a peculiar system of doctrines, yet was ever diffident and cautious of affirming; and the new onely the more scrupulous and sceptical of the two; this appears from the writings of Plato, the first Master of the old; in which, as Cicero observes, nothing is absolutely affirmed, nothing delivered for certain, but all things freely inquired into, and both sides of the question impartially discussed [b]. Yet there was another reason that recommended

[z] Neque nostræ disputationes quicquam aliud agunt, nisi ut, in utramque partem disserendo, eliciant & tanquam exprimant aliquid, quod aut verum sit, aut ad id quam proxime accedat. Academ. 2, 3.

[a] Relictam a te, inquit, veterem jam, tractari autem novam—[ib. 4.] Ultra enim quo progrediar, quam ut verifimilia videam, non habeo: certa dicent hi, qui & percipi ea posse dicunt, & se sapien-

tes profitentur [Tusc. Quæst. 1. 9.]. Sed ne in maximis quidem rebus, quidquam adhuc inveni firmius, quod tenerem, aut quo judicium meum dirigerem, quam id, quodcumque mihi simillimum veri videretur, cum ipsum illud verum in occulto lateret. Orator. fin.

[b] Cujus in libris nihil affirmatur, & in utramque partem multa disseruntur, de omnibus quæritur, nihil certi dicitur. Academ, 1. 13.

1

mended this Philosophy in a peculiar manner to Cicero; its being, of all others, the best suited to the profession of an Orator: since by its practice of disputing for and against every opinion of the other sects, it gave him the best opportunity of perfecting his oratorial faculty, and acquiring a habit of speaking readily upon all subjects. He calls it therefore the parent of elegance and copiousness; and declares, that he owed all the same of his eloquence, not to the mechanic rules of the Rhetoricians, but to the enlarged and generous principles of the Academy [c].

This school however was almost deserted in Greece, and had but sew disciples at Rome, when Cicero undertook its patronage, and endeavour'd to revive its drooping credit. The reason is obvious: it imposed a hard task upon its scholars, of disputing against every sect, and on every question in Philosophy; and if it was difficult, as Cicero says, to be master of any one, how much more of them all? which was incumbent on those who professed themselves Academics [d]. No wonder then that it lost ground every where, in

propor-

[c] Itaque mihi semper Academiæ consuetudo, de omnibus rebus in contrarias partes differendi, non ob eam causam solum placuit, quod aliter non posset quid in quaque re verifimile sit inveniri, sed etiam quod effet ea maxima dicendi exercitatio____[Tufc. Quæft. 2. 3. vid. Quintil. 12. 2.] Ego autem fateor; me oratorem, si modo sim, aut etiam quicumque sim, non ex Rhetorum officinis, sed ex Academiæ spatiis extitisse. [Ora-

diction Aredona Large

tor. sub. init.] Nos ea philosophia plus utimur, quæ peperit dicendi copiam. Proœm. Paradox.

[d] Quam nunc propemodum orbam esse in Græcia intelligo—nam si singulas
disciplinas percipere magnum
est, quanto majus omnes se
quod facere iis necesse est,
quibus propositum est, veri
reperiendi causa, & contra
omnes philosophos, & pro
omnibus dicere, — De Nat.
Deor. 1. 5.

proportion as ease and luxury prevailed; which naturally disposed people to the doctrine of Epicurus: in relation to which, there is a smart saying recorded of Arcesilas; who being asked, why so many of all sects went over to the Epicureans, but none ever came back from them, replied, that men might be made Eunuchs, but Eunuchs could never become men again [e].

This general view of Cicero's Philosophy, will help us to account in some measure, for that difficulty which people frequently complain of, in discovering his real sentiments; as well as for the mistakes which they are apt to fall into in that search: since it was the distinguishing principle of the Academy, to refute the opinions of others, rather than declare any of their own. Yet the chief difficulty does not lie here: for Cicero was not scrupulous on that head, nor affected any obscurity in the delivery of his thoughts, when it was his business to explane them: but it is the variety and different character of his se-

[e] Diog. Laert. de Ar-

DIOGENES LAERTIUS, and some later writers, speak of a third or middle Academy between the Old and the New, in which they are commonly followed by the moderns, who make Plato the Founder of the old; Arcefilas of the middle; Carneades of the New. [See Stanley's Lives of Philoph. in Carneades.] But there was no real ground for such a distinction: fince Cicero never mentions any other, but the old and the new; and expressly declares the last to have subfisted under that denomination, down to bis own days, as well under Carneades, as Arcefilas: and fo far from splitting them into three Academies, Cicero's master Philo maintained constantly in his books, that there never was in reality any more than one; grounding his argument on what I have observed above; the fimilar nature and genius of the two. Acad. 1.4. Perturbatricem autem harum omnium rerum Academiam, banc ab Arcefila & Carneade recentem, exoremus ut fileat. De Leg. 1. 13.

veral writings that perplexes the generality of his readers: for where-ever they dip into his works, they are apt to fancy themselves possessed of his sentiments, and to quote them indisferently as such, whether from his Orations, his Dialogues, or his Letters, without attending to the peculiar nature of the work, or the different

person that he assumes in it.

His orations are generally of the judicial kind; or the pleadings of an Advocate, whose business it was to make the best of his cause; and to deliver, not fo much what was true, as what was useful to his Client; the patronage of truth belonging in such cases to the Judge, and not to the pleader [f]. It would be abfurd therefore to require a scrupulous veracity, or ftrict declaration of his fentiments in them: the thing does not admit of it; and he himself forbids us to expect it; and in one of those orations frankly declares the true nature of them all-"that man, fays he, is much mistaken, who " thinks, that in these judicial pleadings, he " has an authentic specimen of our opinions: " they are the speeches of the causes and the

"times; not of the men, or the advocates: if the causes could speak for themselves, no

" body would employ an orator; but we are employed to fpeak, not what we would un-

"dertake to affirm upon our authority, but what is suggested by the cause and the thing

" itself

[/] Judicis est semper in causis verum sequi; Patroni, nonnunquam verisimile, etiam si minus sit verum, defendere: quod scribere, præ-

fertim cum de Philosophia scriberem, non auderem, nisi idem placeret gravissimo Stoicorum Panætio. De Ossic. 2. 14. "itself [g]." Agreeably to this notion, Quintilian tells us, "that those who are truly wise, "and have spent their time in public affairs, and not in idle disputes, tho' they have resident so the strictly honest in all their actions, yet will not scruple to use every argument, that can be of service to the cause, which they have undertaken to defend [b]." In his orations therefore, where we often meet with the sentences and maxims of philosophy, we cannot always take them for his own, but as topics applied to move his audience, or to add an air of gravity and probability to his speech [i].

His Letters indeed to familiar friends, and especially those to Atticus, place the real man before us, and lay open his very heart: yet in these some distinction must necessarily be observed; for in Letters of compliment, condolence, or recommendation, or where he is solliciting any point of importance, he adapts his arguments to the occasion; and uses such as would induce his friend the most readily to grant what he desired. But as his Letters in general seldom touch upon any questions of philosophy, except slightly and incidentally, so they will afford very

Vol. III. Z

[g] Sed errat vehementer, fi quis in orationibus nostris, quas in judiciis habuimus, auctoritates nostras confignatas se habere, arbitratur. Pro A. Cluent. 50.

[b] Quintil. l. xi. 1.

[i] Though his Orations are not always the proper vouchers of his opinions, yet they are the best testimonies that can be alledged for the

truth of facts: especially those, which were spoken to the Senate or the People; where he refers to the acts and characters of persons then living, before an audience, that was generally as well acquainted with them as himself; and it is in such cases chiefly, that I lay any great stress upon them.

ry little help to us in the discovery of his philafophical opinions, which are the subject of the present inquiry, and for which we must wholly

recur to his philosophical works.

Now the general purpose of these works was, to give a bistory rather of the ancient philosophy, than any account of his own, and to explane to his fellow Citizens in their own language, whatever the philosophers of all sects, and in all ages, had taught on every important question, in order to enlarge their minds, and reform their morals; and to employ himself the most usefully to his country, at a time when arms and a superior force had deprived him of the power of ferving it in any other way [k]. This he declares in his treatife called de Finibus, or on the chief good or ill of man; in that upon the Nature of the Gods; in his Tusculan Disputations; and in his book on the Academic Philosophy: in all which he fometimes takes upon himself the part of a Stoic; sometimes of an Epicurean; sometimes of the Peripatetic; for the fake of explaning with more authority the different doctrines of each fect: and as he affurnes the person of the one, to confute the other, so in his proper character of an Academic, he sometimes disputes against them all: while the unwary reader, not reflecting on the nature of dialogues, takes Cicero still for the perpetual speaker; and under

[k] Nam cum otio langueremus, & is effet Reipub. flatus, ut cam unius confilio atque cura gubernari necesse esset, primum ipsius Reipub. causa philosophiam nostris hominibus explicandam putavi; magni existimans interesse ad decus & ad laudem civitatis, res tam graves, tamque præclaras latinis etiam litteris contineri. De Nat. Deor. 1. 4. it. Acad. 1. 5. Tusc. Quælt. 1. 1. De Finib. 1. 3, 4.

that can'be alledged for libe

that mistake, often quotes a sentiment for his, that was delivered by him onely in order to be confuted. But in these dialogues, as in all his other works, where-ever he treats any subject professedly, or gives a judgement upon it deliberately, either in his own person, or that of an Academic, there he delivers his own opinions: and where he himself does not appear in the scene, he takes care usually to informus, to which of the characters he has affigned the patronage of his own fentiments; who was generally the principal speaker of the Dialogue; as Crassus, in his treatise on the Orator; Scipio, in that on the Republic; Cato, in his piece on old age. This key will let us into his real thoughts; and enable us to trace his genuin notions through every part of his writings; from which I shall now procede to give a short abstract of them.

As to Physics, or natural philosophy, he seems to have had the same notion with Socrates, that a minute and particular attention to it, and the making it the sole end and object of our inquiries, was a study rather curious than prositable, and contributing but little to the improvement of human life [1]. For the he was perfectly acquainted with the various systems of all the Philosophers of any name, from the earliest Antiquity, and has explaned them all in his works; yet he did not think it worth while, either to form any distinct opinions of his own, or at least to declare them. From his account however of those systems we may observe, that se-

Mt enim modo dixi, sit, citius, quam quid sit, omnibus sere in rebus, & dixerim. De Nat. Deor. 1. maxime in Physicis, quid non 21. Acad. 2. 39.

veral of the fundamental principles of the modern philosophy, which pass for the original discoveries of these later times, are the revival rather of ancient notions, maintained by some of the first Philosophers, of whom we have any notice in History; as the motion of the earth; the Antipodes; a Vacuum; and an universal gravitation, or attractive quality of matter; which holds the world in its present form and order

 $\lceil m \rceil$.

But in all the great points of religion and morality, which are of more immediate relation to the happiness of man, the Being of a God; a Providence; the immortality of the foul; a future state of rewards and punishments; and the eternal difference of good and ill; he has largely and clearly declared his mind in many parts of his writings. He maintained, that there was one God, or supreme Being; incorporeal, eternal, selfexistent; who created the world by his power, and sustained it by bis providence. This he inferred from the consent of all nations; the order and beauty of the heavenly bodies; the evident marks of counsil, wisdom, and a fitness to certain ends, ob-Tervable in the whole, and in every part of the vi-Tible world; and declares that person unworthy of the name of man, who can believe all this to have been made by chance; when with the utmost stretch of human wisdom we cannot penetrate the depth of that wisdom which contrived it. [n].

HE

[m] De Nat. Deor. 2. 45. Acad. 2. 38, 39

[n] Nec Deus ipfe—alio modo intelligi potest, nisi mens soluta quædam & libera, segregata ab omni concretione mortali, omnia sentiens & movens, ipsaque prædita motu sempiterno. [Tusc. Quæst. 1. 27.] Sed omnes gentes, una lex & sempiterna & immortalis continebit, unusque erit quasi Magister, & Imperator omnium Deus—Fragm. lib. 3. de Repub.—
Ut porto sirmissimum hoc

He believed also a divine Providence constantly presiding over the whole system, and extending its care to all the principal members of it, with a peculiar attention to the conduct and actions of men; but leaving the minute and inferior parts to the course of his general laws. This he collected from the nature and attributes of the Deity; his omniscience, omnipresence, and insinite goodness; that could never desert or neglect what he had once produced into being: and declares that without this belief there could be no such thing as piety or religion in the world [o].

HE held likewise the immortality of the soul, and its separate existence after death in a state of bappiness or misery. This he inserved from that ardent thirst of immortality, which was always the most conspicuous in the best and most ex-

3 alted

adferri videtur, cur Deos esse credamus, quod nulla gens tam fera, - cujus mentem non imbuerit Deorum opinio -omni autem in re consenfio omnium gentium lex naturæ putandæ est - [Tusc. quæst. 1. 14.] Hæc igitur & talia innumerabilia cum cernimus; possumusne dubitare, quin his præsit aliquis vel effector, (fi hæc nata funt, ut Platoni videtur,) vel, (fi femper fuerunt, ut Aristoteli placet) moderator tanti operis & muneris. [ib. 28.] Id est primum, quod inter omnes, nisi admodum impios, convenit, mihi quidem ex animo exuri non potest, esse Deos. [Nat. Deor. 3. 3. Effe præstantem aliquam, æternamque naturam, & eam suspiciendam, admirandamque hominum generi, pulchritudo mundi, ordoque rerum cœlestium cogit consiteri. [de Divin. 2. 72.] Quæ quanto consilio gerantur, nullo consilio assequi possumus. De Nat. Deor. 2. 38.

[0] De maxima autem re, eodem modo; divina mente atque natura mundum universum atque maximas ejus partes administrari-[de Fin. 4. 5.] Quam vim animum esse dicunt mundi, eandemque esse mentem sapientiamque perfectam; quem Deum appellant, omniumque rerum, quæ sunt ei subjectæ, quasi prudentiam quandam, procurantem cœlettia maxime, deinde in turris ea, quæ pertinent ad homines. Academ. 1. 8. vid. Nat. Deor. 1, 2, 44. 2. 66. 3. 36.

alted minds; from which the truest specimen of their nature must needs be drawn: from its unmix'd and indivisible essence; which had nothing separable or perishable in it: from its wonderful powers and faculties; its principle of self motion; its memory, invention, wit, comprehension; which were all incompatible with sluggish matter

[2].

THE Stoics fancied that the Soul was a subtilized, fiery substance, which survived the body after death, and subsisted a long time, yet not eternally; but was to perish at last in the general conflagration. In which they allowed, as Cicero says, the onely thing that was hard to conceive, its separate existence from the body; yet denied what was not onely easy to imagine, but a consequence of the other, its eternal duration [q]. Aristotle taught, that besides the four elements of the material world, whence all other things were supposed to draw their being, there was a sisth essence or nature, peculiar to God and the Soul, which

[p] Quod quidem ni ita fe haberet, ut animi immortales effent, haud optimi cujusque animus maxime ad immortalitatem niteretur. [Cato. 23.] Num dubitas, quin specimen naturæ capi debeat ex optima quaque natura ?_[Tufc. quæft, 1. 14.] Sie mihi persuasi, sie sentio, cum tanta celeritas animorum fit, tanta memoria præteritorum, futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, tot scientiæ, tot inventa, non posse eam naturam, quæ res eas contineat, effe mortalem: cumque semper agitetur animus, &c. Cato. 21. Tufc. Quæft.

1. 23, 25, 26, &c. de Amicit.

[4] Zenoni Stoico animus ignis videtur. [Tusc. Quast. 1. 9.] Stoici autem usuram nobis largiuntur, tanquam cornicibus; diu mansuros aiunt animos, semper negant—qui, quod in tota hac causa difficillimum est, suscipiunt, posse animum manere corpore vacantem: illud autem, quod non modo facile ad credendum est, sed, eo concesso quod volunt, consequens idcirco, non dant, ut cum diu permanserit ne intereat. Ib. 1. 31, 32.

which had nothing in it that was common to any of the rest [r]. This opinion Cicero followed, and illustrated with his usual perspicuity in

the following passage.

"THE origin of the human foul, favs he. es is not to be found any where on earth; there is nothing mix'd, concrete, or earthly; nothing of water, air, or fire in it. For these natures are not susceptible of memory, intel-" ligence or thought; have nothing that can et retain the past, foresee the future, lay hold on the present; which faculties are purely divine, and could not possibly be derived to ee man, except from God. The nature of the co foul therefore is of a fingular kind; diffinct from these known and obvious natures: and whatever it be that feels and tafts, that lives " and moves in us, it must be heavenly and of divine, and for that reason eternal. Nor is "God indeed himself, whose existence we " clearly discover, to be comprehended by us in any other manner, but as a free and pure " mind, clear from all mortal concretion; obferving and moving all things; and indued with an eternal principle of felf-motion: of this kind, and of the fame nature, is the hu-" man fout [s]."

As to a future state of rewards and punishments, he considered it as a consequence of the soul's immortality; deducible from the attributes of God, and the condition of man's life on earth; and thought it so highly probable, that we could hardly doubt of it, he says, unless it should happen to our minds, when they look into themselves, as it does to our eyes, when they look

Z 4 t

too intensely at the sun, that finding their sight dazzled, they give over looking at all [t]. In this opinion he followed Socrates and Plato, for whose judgement he professes so great a reverence, that if they had given no reasons, where yet they had given many, he should have been perfuaded, he fays, by their sole authority [u]. Socrates therefore, as he tells us, declared in his dying speech, "that there were two ways appointed to human fouls at their departure " from the body: that those who had been im-" merfed in fenfual pleasures and lusts, and had " polluted themselves with private vices or public crimes against their country, took an " obscure and devious road, remote from the " feat and affembly of the Gods; whilft those " who had preferved their integrity, and recei-" ved little or no contagion from the body, " from which they had constantly abstracted "themselves, and in the bodies of men imitated the life of the Gods, had an easy ascent " lying open before them to those Gods, from

whom they derived their being [x].

FROM what has already been said, the reader will eafily imagine what Cicero's opinion must have been concerning the Religion of his Country: for a mind enlightened by the noble principles just stated, could not possibly harbour a thought of the truth or divinity of so absurd a worship: and the liberty, which not onely he, but all the old writers take, in ridiculing the characters of

[1] Nec vero de hoc quifquam dubitare posset, nisi idem nobis accideret diligenter de animo cogitantibus, quod his sæpe usu venit, qui acriter oculis deficientem folem intuerentur, ut aspectum omnino amitterent, &c. Tusc. Quæst. 1. 30.

[u] Ib. 21. de Amicit. 4. [x] Ib. 30.

their Gods, and the fictions of their infernal terments [y], shews, that there was not a man of liberal education, who did not consider it as an engine of state, or political system; contrived for the uses of government, and to keep the people in order: in this light, Cicero always commends it, as a wise institution; singularly adapted to the genius of Rome; and constantly inculcates an adherence to its rites, as the duty of all good Citizens [z].

THEIR

[y] Dic, quæso, num te illa terrent? triceps apud inferos Cerberus? Cocyti fremitus? transvectio Acherontis? — adeone me delirare censes ut ista credam?—[ib. 1.5, 6, 21.] Quæ anus tam excors inveniri potest, quæ illa, quæ quondam credebantur, apud inferos portenta extimescat? De Nat. Deor.

[z] Ordiar ab Haruspicina, quam ego Reipub. causa, communisque religionis, colendam censeo. [De Divin. 2. 12.] Nam & majorum instituta tueri sacris cæremonissque retinendis sapientis est. Ib. 72. De Leg. 2. 12, 13.—

N. B. There is a reflection in Polybius, exactly conformable to Cicero's sentiments on this subject. The greatest Advantage, says he, which the Roman Government seems to have over other states, is in the opinion publickly entertained by them about the Gods; and that very thing, which is so generally decried by other mortals, su-

fained the Republic of Rome; I mean, Superstition. For this was carried by them to such a beight, and introduced so effectually both into the private lives of the Citizens, and the public affairs of the City, that one cannot belp being surprized at it. But I take it all to bave been contrived for the sake of the populace. For if a society could be formed of wife men onely. such a scheme would not be necestary: but fince the multitude is always giddy, and agitated by illicit defires, wild resentments, violent passions; there was no way left of restraining them, but by the belp of such secret terrors and tragical fictions. It was not therefore, without great prudence and forefight, that the ancients took care to instill into them these notions of the Gods and infernal punishments, which the moderns, on the other hand, are now rashly and abjurdly endeavouring to extirpate. Polyb. 1. 6. P. 497.

THEIR Religion confifted of two principal branches; the observation of the Auspices, and the worship of the Gods: the first was instituted by Romulus; the second by his successor, Numa; who drew up a ritual, or order of ceremonies to be observed in the different sacrifices of their several Deities: to these a third part was afterwards added; relating to divine admonitions from portents; monstrous births; the entrails of beafts in sacrifice; and the prophecies of the Sibyls [a]. The College of Augurs presided over the Auspices, as the supreme interpreters of the will of Tove; and determined what signs were propitious, and what not : the other Priests were the Judges of all the other cases relating to Religion; as well of what concerned the public worthip, as that of private families [b].

Now the Priests of all denominations were of the first nobility of Rome; and the Augurs especially were commonly Senators of Consular rank, who had passed thro' all the dignities of the Republic, and by their power over the Auspices, could put an immediate stop to all proceedings, and dissolve at once all the assemblies of the people convened for public business. The interpretation of the Sibyl's prophecies was vested in the December, or guardians of the Sibylline books; ten persons of distinguished rank chosen

ufually

[a] Cum omnis Populi Romani religio in Sacra & in Auspicia divisa sit, tertium adjunctum sit, si quid prædictionis causa ex portentis & monstris Sibyllæ interpretes, Haruspicesve monuerunt. De Nat. Deori 3, 2.

[6] - Cur Sacris Pontifi-

ces, cur auspiciis Augures præsunt? [ib. 1. 44.] Est autem boni Auguris, meminisse maximis Reipub. temporibus præsto esse debere, Jovique optimo maximo se consiliarium atque administrum datum — de Leg. 3. 19.

usually from the Priests: And the province of interpreting prodigies, and inspecting the entrails, belonged to the Haruspices; who were the servants of the public, hired to attend the Magistrates in all their sacrifices; and who never failed to accommodate their answers to the views of those who employed them, and to whose protection they owed their credit and their livelyhood.

THIS constitution of a Religion among a people naturally superstitious, necessarily threw the chief influence in affairs into the hands of the Senate, and the better fort; who by this advantage frequently check'd the violences of the populace, and the factious attempts of the Tribuns [c]: fo that it is perpetually applauded by Cicero, as the main bulwark of the Republic; tho' considered all the while by men of sense, as merely political, and of human invention. The only part that admitted any dispute concerning its origin, was Augury, or their method of divining by Auspices. The Stoics held, that God, out of his goodness to man, had imprinted on the nature of things certain marks or notices of future events; as on the entrails of beafts, the flight of birds, thunder, and other celeftial figns, which, by long observation, and the experience of ages, were reduced to an art, by which the meaning of each fign might be determined, and applied to the event that was signified by it. This they called artificial Divination, in diffinction from the natural; which they supposed to flow

[c] Omnibus Magistratibus auspicia—dantur, ut multos inutiles comitiatus, probabiles impedirent mora: fæpe enim populi impetum injustum auspiciis Dii immortales represserunt. De Leg. 2. 12. flow from an instinct or native power, implanted in the foul, which it exerted always with the greatest efficacy, when it was the most free and disengaged from the body, as in dreams and madness [d]. But this notion was generally ridiculed by the other Philosophers; and of all the College of Augurs, there was but one at this time who maintained it, Appius Claudius; who was laugh'd at for his pains by the rest, and called the Pisidian [e]: it occasioned however a fmart controverfy between him and his Collegue Marcellus, who feverally published books on each fide of the question; wherein Marcellus afferted the whole affair to be the contrivance of Statesmen; Appius on the contrary, that there was a real art and power of divining, subsisting in the Augural discipline, and taught by the Augural books [f]. Appius dedicated this treatife to Cicero [g]: who, tho' he preferred Marcellus's notion, yet did not wholly agree with either, but believed, that Augury might probably be instituted at first upon a persuasion of its divi-

[d] Duo funt enim divinandi genera, quorum alterum artis est, alterum naturæ—est enim vis & natura quædam, quæ cum observatis longo tempore significationibus, tum aliquo instinctu, instatuque divino sutura prænunciat —De Div. 1.6. Vid. it. ib. 18.

[e] Quem irridebant Collegæ tui, eumque tum Pifidam, tum Soranum Augurum esse dicebant. ib. 47.

THE Pisidians were a barbarous people of the lesser Asia; famous for their superstitious observation of the Aufpices, or their divination by the flight of birds. De Divin. 1.41, 42.

[f] Sed est in Collegio vestro inter Marcellum & Appium, optimos Augures, magna dissensio: — cum alteri placeat, auspicia ista ad utilitatem Reipub. composita; alteri disciplina vestra quasi divinare prorsus posse videatur. De Leg. 2.13.

[g] Illo libro Augurali, quem ad me amantissime scriptum, suavissimum missi.

Ep. fam. 3. 4.

nity; and when, by the improvement of arts and learning, that opinion was exploded in succeeding ages, yet the thing itself was wisely retained for

the sake of its use to the Republic [b].

Bur whatever was the origin of the Religion of Rome, Cicero's Religion was undoubtedly of beavenly extraction; built, as we have feen, on the foundation of a God; a Providence; an immortality. He considered this short period of our life on earth as a state of trial, or a kind of school; in which we were to improve and prepare ourselves for that eternity of existence, which was provided for us hereafter; that we were placed therefore here by the Creator, not fo much to inhabit the earth, as to contemplate the beavens; on which were imprinted in legible characters all the duties of that nature, which was given to us. He observed, that this spectacle belonged to no other Animal but man; to whom, God, for that reason, had given an erest and upright form; with eyes not prone or fixed upon the ground, like those of other animals, but placed on bigh and sublime, in a situation the most proper for this celestial contemplation; to remind him perpetually of his task, and to acquaint him with the place from which he fprung, and for which he was finally defigned [i]. He took

[b] Non enim sumus ii nos Augures, qui avium, reliquorumque fignorum observatione futura dicamus: et tamen credo Romulum, qui urbem auspicato condidit, habuisse opinionem, esse in providendis rebus augurandi scientiam. Errabat multis in Divin. 2. 33.

[i] Sed credo Deos sparfiffe animos in corpora humana, ut effent qui terras tuerentur, quique cœlestium ordinem contemplantes, imitarentur eum vitæ modo & constantia, &c. [Cato 21] Nam cum cæteras animantes adjecisset ad pastum, solum rebus Antiquitas, &c. De hominem erexit, ad cœlique quali the system of the world, or the visible works of God, to be the promulgation of God's law, or the declaration of his will to mankind; whence, as we might collect his being, nature, and attributes, so we could trace the reasons also and motives of his acting; till by observing what he had done, we might learn what we ought to do, and, by the operations of the divine reason, be instructed how to perfect our own; since the perfection of man consisted in the imitation of God.

FROM this fource he deduced the origin of all duty, or moral obligation; from the will of God, manifested in his works; or from that eternal reason, fitness, and relation of things, which is displayed in every part of the creation. This he calls the original, immutable law; the criterion of good and ill; of just and unjust; imprinted on the nature of things, as the rule by which all human laws are to be formed; which, whenever they deviate from this pattern, ought, he fays, to be called any thing rather than laws; and are in effect nothing but acts of force, violence, and tyranny: that to imagine the distin-Stion of good and ill not to be founded in nature, but in custom, opinion, or buman institution, is mere folly and madness; which would overthrow all fociety, and confound all right and justice amongst men [k]: that this was the constant opinion

quafi cognationis, domiciliique priftini conspectum excitavit. Ide Leg. 1. 9.] Ipse autem homo ortus est ad mundum contemplandum & imitandum, nullo modo perfectus, sed est quædam particula persecti. Nat. Deor. 2. 14, 56. [2] Sed etiam modestiam, quandam cognitio rerum coelestium adfert iis, qui videant, quanta sit etiam apud Deos moderatio, quantus ordo; & magnitudinem animi, Deorum opera & facta cernentibus; justitiam etiam, cum cognitum habeas, quid

opinion of the wifest of all ages; who held, that the mind of God governing all things by eternal reason, was the principal and soverein law; subofe substitute on earth was the reason or mind of the wife: to which purpose there are many strong and beautiful passages scattered occasionally thro every part of his works [1].

"THE true law, fays he, is right reason, conformable to the nature of things; con-

" stant, eternal, diffused thro' all; which calls

" us to duty by commanding, deters us from

" fin by forbidding; which never loses its in-" fluence with the good; nor ever preferves it

" with the wicked. This cannot possibly be

" over-ruled by any other law; nor abrogated in the whole or in part: nor can we be ab-

" folved from it either by the Senate or the pea-

of ple: nor are we to feek any other comment

fit summi Rectoris & Domini numen, quod confilium, quæ voluntas; cujus ad naturam apta ratio vera illa & fumma lex a Philosophis digitur. -De Fin. 4. 5.

Nos legem bonam a mala, nulla alia nifi naturæ norma dividere possumus. Nec folum jus & injuria natura dijudicantur, sed omnino omnia honesta ac turpia; nam & communis intelligentia nobis notas res efficit, eafque in animis nottris incheat, ut honesta in virtute ponantur, in vitiis turpia. Ea autem in opinione existimare, non in natura polita, dementis eft. [De Leg. 1. 16.] Erat enim ratio profecta a rerum

natura; & ad recte faciendum

impellens, & a delicto avocans; que non tum demum incipit lex effe, cum scripta est, sed tum, cum orta est: orta autem fimul eft cum mente divina: quamobrem lex vera, atque princeps, apta ad jubendum & ad vetandum, recta est ratio summi Jovis, &c. De Leg. 2. 4, 5, &c.

[/] Hanc igitur video fapientishmorum fuisse sententiam, legem neque hominum ingeniis excogitatam, nec Scitum aliquod effe populorum, fed æternum quiddam, guod universum mundum regeret, imperandi, prohibendique sapientia, &c. ib.

or interpreter of it, but itself: nor can there be one law at Rome, another at Athens; one now, another hereaster; but the same eternal immutable law, comprehends all nations, at all times, under one common Master and Governor of all, God. He is the inventor, propounder, enactor of this law: and whose soever will not obey it, must first renounce himself, and throw off the nature of man: by doing which, he will suffer the greatest punishment, tho he should escape all the other torments, which are commonly believed to

" be prepared for the wicked [m]."

In another place he tells us, that the study of this law was the onely thing which could teach us that most important of all lessons, said to be prescribed by the Pythian Oracle, to know ourfelves; that is, to know our true nature and rank in the universal system; the relation that we bear to all other things; and the purposes for which we were fent into the world. "When " a man, fays he, has attentively furveyed the "heavens, the earth, the fea, and all things in " them; observed whence they sprung, and " whither they all tend; when and how they " are to end; what part is mortal and perish-" able, what divine and eternal: when he has " almost reached and touch'd, as it were, the " governor and ruler of them all, and disco-" vered himself not to be confined to the walls " of any certain place, but a citizen of the " world, as of one common City; in this mag-" nificent view of things; in this enlarged pro-" fpect and knowledge of nature; good Gods, " how will he learn to know bimself? How will

[[]m] Fragment. lib. 3. de Repub. ex Lactantio.

"he contemn, despise, and set at nought all those things, which the vulgar esteem the

" most splendid and glorious [n]?"

THESE were the principles on which Cicero built his religion and morality, which shine indeed thro' all his writings, but were largely and explicitly illustrated by him in his treatifes on Government, and on Laws; to which he added afterwards his book of Offices, to make the scheme complete: Volumes, which, as the elder Pliny fays to the Emperor Titus, ought not onely to be read, but to be got by heart [0]. The first and greatest of these works is lost, excepting a few fragments, in which he had delivered his real thoughts fo profesfedly, that in a Letter to Atticus, he calls those fix books on the Republic, so many pledges given to his country, for the integrity of his life; from which, if ever he fwerved, he could never have the face to look into them again [p]. In his book of laws, he purfued the same argument, and deduced the origin of law from the will of the supreme God. These two pieces therefore contain his belief, and the book of Offices bis practice: where he has traced out all the duties of man, or a rule of life conformable to the divine principles, which he had established in the other two; to which he often refers, as to the foundation of his whole fystem [q]. This work was one of the last that he finished, for the use of his son, to whom he VOL. III. Aa addreffed

[n] De Legib. 1. 23.
[o] Quæ volumina ejus edifcenda non modo in manibus habenda quotidie, nosti.

Præf. ad Hift. Nat.

[p] Præsertim cum sex libris, tanquam prædibus, meipsum obstrinxerim; quos tibi tam valde probarigaudeo. [ad Att. 6. 1.] Ego audebo legere unquam; aut attingere eos libros, quos tu dilaudas, si tale quid secero? ibid. 2.

[9] Offic. 3. 5, 6, 17.

addressed it; being desirous, in the decline of a glorious life, to explane to him the maxims by which he had governed it; and teach him the way of passing thro' the world with innocence, virtue, and true glory, to an immortality of happiness: where the strictness of his morals. adapted to all the various cases and circumstances of human life, will serve, if not to instruct, yet to reproach the practife of most Christians. This was that law, which is mentioned by St. Paul, to be taught by nature, and written on the bearts of the Gentiles, to guide them thro? that flate of ignorance and darkness, of which they themselves complained, till they should be bleffed with a more perfect revelation of the divine will: and this scheme of it professed by Cicero, was certainly the most complete that the Gentile world had ever been acquainted with: the utmost effort that human nature could make towards attaining its proper end; or that fupreme good for which the Creator had defigned it: upon the contemplation of which fublime truths, as delivered by a Heathen, Erasmus could not help persuading himself, that the breast from which they slowed must needs bave been inspired by the Deity [r].

Bur after all these glorious sentiments that we have been ascribing to Cicero, and collecting from his writings, some have been apt to consider them as the florishes rather of his eloquence, than the conclusions of his reason; since

illud pectus, unde ista prodierunt, aliqua divinitas occuparit. Brafm. Ep. ap Joh, Ulattenum.

Me in eather the continue in the

[[]r] Quid aliis accidat nefcio; me legentem fic afficere folet M. Tullius, præfertim ubi de bene vivendo differit, ut dubitare non possim, quin

in other parts of his works he seems to intimate not onely a diffidence, but a disbelief of the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments; and especially in his Letters, where he is supposed to declare his mind with the greatest frankness [s]. But in all the passages brought to support this objection, where he is imagined to speak of death as the end of all things to man, as they are addressed to friends in distress by way of consolation, so some Commentators take them to mean nothing more, than that death is the end of all things here below,

A a 2 and

audivi, nihil mali esse in morte; in qua fi refidéat sensus, immortalitas illa potius, quam mors ducenda est: fin fit amiffus, nulla videri miseria debeat, quæ non sentiatur. [Ep. fam. 5. 16.] Ur hoc faltem in maximis malis boni confequamur, ut mortem, quam etiam beati contemnere debeamus, propterea quod nullum sensum effet habitura, nunc fic affecti, non modo contemnere debeamus, sed etiam optare: [Ib. 21:] Sed hæc confolatio levis; illa gravior, qua te uti spero, ego certe utor: nec enim dum ero, angar ulla re, cum omni vacem eulpa; et si non ero, sensu omnino carebo. [ib. 6. 3.] Deindefi jam vocer ad exitum vite, non ab ea Rep. avellar, qua carendum effe doleam, præsertim cum id fine ullo fensu futurum fit. [ib. 4.] Una ratio videtur, quicquid evenerit, ferre moderate, præ-

[1] Sæpissime & legi & sertim cum omnium rerum divi, nihil mali esse in mors sit extremum. [ib. 21.] orte; in qua si residéat sensore de illa-fors viderit, aut si immortalitas illa potius, si fi qui est, qui curet Deus. Ad Att. 4. x.

N. B By this illustration of Cicero's moral principles we learn the force of that rule, which he frequently prescribes, of following Nature, as the fure and unerring guide of life. [De Legib. 1. 6. de Senect. 2. de Amic. 5.] by which he means that law or will of God, displayed in the nature of things; not, as some are apt to interpret him, the dictates of our unruly passions, which are falfely called natural; being the motions onely of vitiated appetites, and the creatures of habit not of nature; the gratification of which, as he tells us, is more contrary to wature, and confequently more to be avoided, than poverty, pain, or even death itself. [Offic. 3. 5, 6.]

and without any farther sense of what is done upon earth: yet should they be understood to relate, as perhaps they may, to an utter extinction of our being; it must be observed, that he was writing in all probability to Epicureans [t], and accommodating his arguments to the men; by offering fuch topics of comfort to them from their own philosophy, as they themselves held to be the most effectual. But if this also should feem precarious, we must remember always, that Cicero was an Academic; and tho' he believed a future state, was fond of the opinion, and declares himself resolved never to part with it; yet he believed it as probable onely, not as certain [u]: and as probability implies some mixture of doubt, and admits the degrees of more and less, so it admits also some variety in the stability of our persuasion: thus in a melancholy hour, when his fpirits were depressed, the same argument would not appear to him with the fame force; but doubts and difficulties get the ascendant, and what humored his present chagrin, find the readiest admission. The passages alledged were all of this kind, written in the feason

[1] This will appear to be a very probable supposition, when we recollect, that the generality of the Roman Nobility, and of Cicero's friends were of the Epicarean felt; and particularly the family of Torquatus, to whom two of these very Letters are addressed.—Accurate quondam a L. Torquato, homine omni doctrina erudito, defensa est Epicuri sententia de voluptate, a meque ei responsum. De Fin. 1. 5.

[a] Quod fi in hoc erro, quod animos hominum immortales esse credam, lubenter erro. Nec mihi hunc errorem, quo delector, dum vivo, extorqueri volo. Cato. 23. Geram tibi morem, & ea, quæ vis, ut potero, explicabo: nec tamen quasi Pythius Apollo, certa ut fint & fixa quæ dixero: fed ut homunculus unus e multis, probabilia conjectura sequens. Tusc. Quæst. 1.9.

feason of his dejection, when all things were going wrong with him, in the height of Cæfar's power; and tho' we allow them to have all the force that they can possibly bear, and to express what Cicero really meant at that time, yet they prove at last nothing more, than that, agreeably to the character and principles of the Academy, he fometimes doubted of what he generally believed. But after all, whatever be the sense of them, it cannot surely be thought reafonable to oppose a few scattered hints, accidentally thrown out, when he was not confidering the subject, to the volumes that he had deliberately written on the other side of the question

As to his political conduct, no man was ever a more determined patriot, or a warmer lover Aaa

[x] FROM this general whilft the greatest part of view of Cicero's religion, one cannot help observing, that the most exalted state of human reason is so far from superseding the use, that it demonstrates the benefit of a more explicit revelation: for though the natural law, in the perfection, to which it was carried by Cicero, might ferve for a sufficient guide to the few, such as himself, of enlarged minds and happy dispositions, yet it had been fo long depraved and adulterated by the prevailing errors and vices of mankind, that it was not discoverable even to those few, without great pains and fludy; and could not produce in them at last any thing more than a hope, never a full persuasion;

mankind, even of the virtuous and inquifitive, lived without the knowledge of a God, or the expectation of a futurity; and the multitude in every country was left to the gross idolatry of the po-pular worship. When we reflect on all this, we mutt needs see abundant reason to be thankfull to God, for the divine light of his Gospel; which bas revealed at last to babes, what was bidden from the wife; and without the pains of fearching, or danger of mistaking, has given us not onely the hope, but the affurance of happiness; and made us not onely the believers, but the beirs of immortality,

of his country, than he: his whole character, natural temper, choice of life and principles, made its true interest inseparable from his own. His general view therefore was always one and the same; to support the peace and liberty of the Republic in that form and constitution of it, which their ancestors had delivered down to them [y]. He look'd upon that as the onely foundation on which it could be supported; and used to quote a verse of old Ennius, as the dictate of an Oracle, which derived all the glory of Rome from an adherence to its ancient manners and discipline.

Moribus antiquis stat Res Romana virisque [2].

It is one of his maxims, which he inculcates in his writings, that as the end of a Pilot is a prosperous voyage; of a Physician, the health of his patient; of a General, victory; so that of a statesman is, to make his Citizens happy; to make them firm in power, rich in wealth, splendid in glory, eminent in virtue: which he declares to be the greatest and best of all works among men [a]: and as this cannot be effected, but by the concord and harmony of the constituent members of a City [b]; so it was his constant aim to unite

[7] Sic tibi, mi Pæte, persuade, me dies & noctes nihil aliud agere, nihil curare, nisi ut mei cives salvis liberique sint. Ep. sam. 1.

[z] Quem quidem ille versum vel brevitate vel veritate, tanquam ex Oraculo mihi quodam essatus videtur, &c. vid. Fragm. de Repub.

[a] Ut gubernatori curfus fecundus—fic huic moderatori Reip, beata civium vita propofita est, &c. vid. ibid.—

[b] Quæ harmonia a Muficis dicitur in cantu, ea est in civitate concordia, arctiffimum atque optimum omni in Repub. vinculum incolumitatis, &c. ibid. l. 2.

the different orders of the state into one common interest, and to inspire them with a mutual confidence in each other; so as to balance the supremacy of the people, by the authority of the Senate; that the one should enact, but the other advise; the one have the last resort, the other the chief influence [e]. This was the old constitution of Rome, by which it had raised itself to all it's grandor; whilst all it's misfortunes were owing to the contrary principle, of diffrust and diffension between these two rival powers: it was the great object therefore of his policy, to throw the ascendant in all affairs into the bands of the Senate and the Magistrates, as far as it was confistent with the rights and liberties of the people: which will always be the general view of the wife and honest in all popular governments.

This was the principle, which he espoused from the beginning, and pursued to the end of his life: and though in some passages of his history, he may be thought perhaps to have deviated from it, yet upon an impartial review of the case, we shall find, that his end was always the same, though he had changed his measures of pursuing it; when compelled to it by the violence of the times, and an over-ruling sorce, and a necessary regard to his own safety: so that he might say with great truth what an Athenian Orator once said, in excuse of his inconstancy; that be bad atted indeed on some occasions contrary

Aa4 to

ctoritas in Senatu sit, teneri ille moderatus & concors civitatis status. De Leg. 3. 12. it. ib. 17.

[[]c] Nam—si Senatus dominus sit publici consilii— ille moder
possit, ex temperatione juris, vitatis stat
cum potestas in populo, auit. ib. 17.

to himself, but never to the Republic [d]: and here also his Academic philosophy seems to have shewed it's superior use in practical, as well as in speculative life; by indulging that liberty of acting, which nature and reason require; and when the times and things themselves are changed, allowing a change of conduct, and a recourse to new means, for the attainment of the

same end.

THE three fests, which at this time chiefly engroffed the philosophical part of Rome, were, the Stoic, the Epicurean, and the Academic; and the chief ornaments of each were, Cato, Atticus and Cicero; who lived together in strict friendship, and a mutual esteem of each other's virtue: but the different behaviour of these three, will shew by fact and example, the different merit of their feveral principles, and which of them was the best adapted to promote the good of fociety.

THE Stoics were the bigots or enthusiasts in philosophy; who held none to be truly wife or good but themselves; placed perfett bappiness in virtue, though ftript of every other good; affirmed all fins to be equal; all deviations from right equally wicked; to kill a dungbill cock without reason, the same crime as to kill a parent; that a wife man could never forgive; never be moved by anger, favor, or pity; never be deceived; never repent; never change bis mind [e]. With these principles

[*] Sapientem gratia nun-

[d] Plut. de Demade. in jusquam delicto ignoscere : vit. Demost. p. 851. Edit. neminem misericordem esse, nisi stultum; viri non esse, neque ex orari, neque placaquam moveri, nunquam cu- ri; omnia peccata esse paria

principles Cato entred into public life; and acted in it, as Cicero says, as if he had lived in the polity of Plato, not in the dregs of Romulus [f]. He made no distinction of times or things; no allowance for the weakness of the Republic, and the power of those who oppressed it: it was his maxim, to combat all power, not built upon the laws; or to defy it at least, if he could not controul it: he knew no way to his end, but the direct; and whatever obstructions he met with, resolved still to rush on; and either to furmount them, or perish in the attempt; taking it for a baseness and confession of being conquered, to decline a tittle from the true road. In an age therefore of the utmost libertinism. when the public discipline was lost, and the government itself tottering, he struggled with the fame zeal against all corruption, and waged a perpetual war with a superior force; whilst the rigor of his principles tended rather to alienate friends, than reconcile enemies; and by provoking the power, that he could not fubdue, helped to haften that ruin, which he was striving to avert [g]: fo that after a perpetual course of disappointments and repulses, finding himself unable to purfue his old way any farther, inftead of taking a new one, he was driven by his Philosophy to put an end to his life,

But

—nec minus delinquere eum, qui gallum gallinaceum, cum opus non fuerit, quam eum, qui patrem suffocaverit: sapientem nihil opinari, nullius rei pœnitere, nulla in re falli, sententiam mutare nunquam. Pro Muræn. 29.

in Platonis marzia, non

-nec minus delinquere eum, tanquam in Romuli fæce, qui gallum gallinaceum, cum fententiam. Ad Att. 2. 3. opus non fuerit, quam eum, p. 178.

[g] Pompeium & Cæfarem, quorum nemo alterum offendere audebat, nifi ut alterum demereretur, [Cato] fimul provocavit. Sen. Ep. 104.

But as the Stoics exalted human nature too high, so the Epicureans depressed it too low: as those raised it to the Heroic, these debased it to the brutal state: they held pleasure to be the chief good of man; death the extinction of his being; and placed their happiness consequently in the secure enjoyment of a pleasurable life: esteeming virtue on no other account, than as it was a handmaid to pleafure; and helped to enfure the possession of it, by preserving health and conciliating friends. Their wife man therefore had no other duty, but to provide for his own case; to decline all struggles; to retire from public affairs; and to imitate the life of their Gods; by passing his days in a calm, contemplative, undisturbed repose; in the midst of rural fhades and pleasant gardens. This was the scheme, that Atticus followed: he had all the talents that could qualify a man to be useful to fociety; great parts, learning, judgement, cander, benevolence, generolity; the same love of bis country, and the same sentiments in polities with Cicero [b]; whom he was always advifing and urging to act, yet determined never to act himself; or never at least so far, as to diforb his cafe, or endanger his fafety. For though he was so strictly united with Cicero. and valued him above all men, yet he managed an interest all the while with the opposite faction, and a friendship even with his mortal enemies. Clodius and Ahtony; that he might fecure against all events the grand point, which he had in view, the peace and tranquility of his life.

[6] In Repub. ita est verfatus, ut semper optimarum bus sluctibus committeret.—
partium & esset, & existimaCorn. Nep. vit. Att. 6.

Thus two excellent men, by their mistaken notions of virtue, drawn from the principles of their philosophy; were made useless in a manner to their country; each in a different extreme of life; the one always acting and expofing himself to dangers, without the prospect of doing good; the other, without attempting to do

any, resolving never to act at all.

CICERO chose the middle way between the obstinacy of Cato, and the indolence of Atticus: he preferred always the readiest road to what was right, if it lay open to him; if not, took the next, that feemed likely to bring him to the fame end; and in politics, as in morality, when he could not arrive at the true, contented himself with the probable. He of compares the Statesman to the Pilate; whose art consists, in managing every turn of the winds, and applying even the most perwerse to the progress of his voyage; so as by changing bis county, and enlarging his circuit of failing, to arrive with fafety, though later, at his destined part [i]. He mentions likewife an observation, which long experience had confirmed to him, that none of the popular and ambitious, who aspired to extraordinary commands, and to be leaders in the Republic, ever chose to obtain their ends from the people, till they bad first been repulsed by the Senate [k]. This was

[i] Nunquam enim præstantibus in Repub. guber-nanda viris laudata est in una sententia perpetua, permansio: sed ut in navigando. tempestati obsequi artis est, etiamfi. portum tenere non queas: cum vero id possis mutata velificatione affequi, stultum eit eum tenere cur-

fum cum periculo quem ceperis, potius quam, eo commutato, quo velis tandem pervenire, &c. Ep. Fam. 1.

[k] Neminem unquam-ek hic ordo amplexus honoribus & beneficiis suis, qui ullam dignitatem præstabilioremea,. quam per vos effet adeptus, putarit.

Pin Corn. Bal

was verified by all their civil diffensions, from the Gracchi, down to Cæfar: fo that when he faw men of this spirit at the head of the government; who, by the splendor of their lives and actions, had acquired an afcendant over the populace; it was his constant advice to the Senate, to gain them by gentle compliances, and to gratify their thirst of power by voluntary grants of it, as the best way to moderate their ambition, and reclame them from desperate counfils. He declared contention to be no longer prudent, than while it either did service, or at least no burt; but when faction was grown too strong to be withstood, that it was time to give over fighting; and nothing left but to extract some good out of the ill, by mitigating that power by patience, which they could not reduce by force, and conciliating it, if possible, to the interests of the state [1]. This was what he advifed, and what he practifed: and it will account in a great measure for those parts of his conduct, which are the most liable to exception, on the account of that complaifance, which he is supposed to have paid at different times to the feveral usurpers of illegal power.

He made a just distinction, between bearing what we cannot belp, and approving what we ought to condemn [m]; and submitted therefore,

yet

putarit. Nemo unquam hic potuit esse princeps, qui maluerit esse popularis. De Provin. Consular. 16. it. Phil. 5. 18.

[/] Sed contentio tamdiu fapiens est, quamdiu aut proficit aliquid, aut si non proficit, non obest civitati: voluimus quædam, contendimus, experti sumus, non obtenta sunt. Pro Corn. Bal-

bo. 27.

Sic ab hominibus doctis accepimus, non folum ex malis eligere minima oportere; fed etiam excerpere ex his ipfis fi quid ineffet boni. De Off. 1. 1.

[m] Non enim est idem, ferre si quid ferendum est, & probare si quid probandum non est. Ep. sam. q. 6,

yet never confented to those usurpations; and when he was forced to comply with them, did it always with a reluctance, that he expresses very keenly in his letters to his friends. But whenever that force was removed, and he was at liberty to pursue his principles, and act without controul, as in his Confulship, in his Province, and after Cæfar's death; the onely periods of his life, in which he was truly Mafter of himself; there we see him shining out in his genuin character, of an excellent Citizen; a great Magistrate; a glorious Patriot: there we fee the man, who could declare of himself with truth, in an appeal to Atticus, as to the best witness of his conscience, that be had always done the greatest services to bis country, when it was in bis power; or when it was not, had never harboured a thought of it, but what was divine [m.] If we must needs compare him therefore with Cato, as some writers affect to do; it is certain, that if Cato's virtue feem more splendid in theory, Cicero's will be found superior in practice: the one was romantic, the other rational; the one drawn from the refinements of the schools. the other from nature and focial life; the one always unfuccessful, often hurtful; the other always beneficial, often falutary to the Republic.

To conclude; Cicero's death, though violent, cannot be called untimely; but was the proper end of fuch a life; which must have been rendered less glorious, if it had owed it's prefervation to Antony. It was therefore what he not onely expected, but in the circumstances,

to me de Repub. aut meru- cogitasse. Ad Att. x. 4.

[[]m] Præclara igitur con- isse optime cum potuerim; scientia sustentor, cum cogi- aut certe nunquam nisi divine

to which he was reduced, what he seems even to have wished [n]. For he, who before had been timid in dangers, and desponding in distress, yet from the time of Cæsar's death, roused by the desperate state of the Republic [v], assumed the fortitude of a Hero: discarded all fear; despised all danger; and when he could not free his country from a Tyranny, provoked the Tyrants to take that life, which he no longer cared to preserve. Thus like a great Actor on the stage, he reserved himself as it were for the last act; and after he had played his part with dignity, resolved to finish it with glory.

THE character of his fent Marcus has been delivered down to us in a very disadvantageous light: for he is represented generally, both by the Ancients and Moderns, as stupid and vicious, and a proverb even of degeneracy [p]: yet when we come to inquire into the real state of the fact, we shall find but little ground for so scandalous a tradition.

In his early youth, while he continued under the eye and discipline of his Father, he gave all imaginable proofs both of an excellent temper and genius; was modest, tractable, dutiful; diligent in his studies, and expert in his exercises; so that in the Pharsalic war, at the age

[n] Nullum locum pratermitto monendi, agendi, providendi; hoc denique animo fum, ut fi in hae curaatque administratione, vita mihi ponenda fit, præclare actum mecum putem. Ep. fam. 9, 24.

[o] Sed plane animus, qui dubirs rebus forsitan fuerit infirmler, desperatis, confirmatus est multum. Ep. fam.

[p] CICHRONEM filium quæ res Consulem fecit, nisi pater? Senec. de Benes. 4. 30. Nom virtutes omnes aberant; Stupor & vicia aderant. Light-Not. ad locum.

of seventeen, he acquired a great reputation in Pompey's camp, by his dexterity of riding. throwing the javelin, and all the other accomplishments of a young soldier [q]. Not long after Pompey's death he was fent to Athens, to spend a few years in the study of Philosophy and polite letters, under Cratippus, the most celebrated Philosopher of that time; for whom Cicero afterwards procured the freedom of Rome [r]. Here indeed, upon his first fally into the world, he was guilty of some irregularity of conduct. and extravagance of expence, that made his Father uneafy; into which he was supposed to have been drawn by Gorgias, bis Master of Rhetoric; a lover of wine and pleasure; whom Cicero for that reason expostulated with severely by letter, and discharged from his attendance upon him. But the young man was foon made fensible of his folly, and recalled to his duty by the remonstrances of his friends, and particularly of Atticus: fo that his Father readily paid his debts, and enlarged his Allowance, which feems to have been about feven hundred pounds per annum [s].

FROM this time, all the accounts of him from the principal men of the place, as well as his Roman friends, who had occasion to visit Athens, are constant and uniform in their praises of him; and in terms so particular and explicit.

that

[1] — Ad Ciceronem ita feripfifti, ulfi ut neque feverius, neque temperatius feribi potuerit, nec magis quam quemadmodum ego maxime vellem. Ad Att. 13. 1, it. ib. 16, 1, 15. Plutar, in Cic.

^[2] Quo in bello cum te, Pompeius alæ alteri præfecisset, magnam laudem & a, summo viro, & ab exercituconsequebare, equitando, jaculando, omni militari labore tolerando.—Offic. 2.13.

[[]r] Plutar. in vit. Cicer.

that they could not procede from mere compliment, or a defire of flattering Cicero as he often fignifies with pleasure to Atticus [t]. Thus Trebonius, as he was passing into Asia, writes to him from Athens; " I came hither on the " twenty-first of May, where I saw your son; " and faw him, to my great joy, pursuing every " thing that was good, and in the highest cre-" dit for the modesty of his behaviour—do " not imagine, my Cicero, that I fay this to " flatter you: for nothing can be more beloved "than your young man is by all who are at " Athens; nor more studious of all those arts " which you yourfelf delight in; that is, the best. I congratulate with you therefore very 66 heartily, which I can do with great truth, " and not less also with myself; that he, whom we were obliged to love, of what temper fo-" ever he had happened to be, proves to be " fuch an one as we should chuse to love [u]."

But the Son's own Letters gave the most folid comfort to his Father; as they were written not onely with great duty and affection, but with such elegance also and propriety, that they were fit, he says, to be read to a learned audience; and tho in other points be might possibly be deceived, yet in these be saw a real improvement both of his tast and learning [x]. None of these let-

[1] Cæteri præclara scribunt. Leonidas tamen-retinet illud suum adbue, summis vero laudibus Herodes— [Ad Att. 15. 16.] Gratissimum, quod polliceris. Ciceroni nihil defuturum; de quo mirabilia Messala. ib. 17.

[s] Ep. Fam. 12. 16. vid.

[x] A Cicerone mihi Lit-

teræ sane ππνομόρα, & bene longæ. Cætera autem vel singi possunt: πν Θ litterarum significat doctiorem. [Ad Att. 14. 7.] Mehercule ipsius litteræ sic & φιλοσός-ρως, & ἐυπνώς scriptæ, ut eas vel in acroasi audeam legere: quo magis illi indulgendum puto. ib. 15. 17. vid. ib. 16.

ters are now extant, nor any other monument of young Cicero's talents, but two Letters to Tiro; one of which I have chosen to transcribe, as the surest specimen both of his parts and temper; written, as we may imagine, to one of Tiro's rank, without any particular care, and in the utmost familiarity, from his residence at Atbens, when he was about nineteen years old.

CICERO the Son to TIRO.

"While I was expecting every day with impatience your messengers from Rome, they came at last on the forty-fixth day after they " left you. Their arrival was extremely agree-" able to me: for my Father's most indulgent " and affectionate letter gave me an exceeding " joy; which was still highly increased by the " receipt also of yours: so that instead of be-" ing forry for my late omission of writing, I " was rather pleased that my silence had afford-" ed me fo particular a proof of your humani-"ty. It is a great pleasure therefore to me, " that you accepted my excuse so readily. " do not doubt, my dearest Tiro, but that the " reports which are now brought of me give " you a real fatisfaction. It shall be my care " and endeavour that this growing fame of me " shall every day come more and more confirmed to you: and fince you promife to be " the Trumpeter of my praises, you may ven-" ture to do it with affurance: for the past er-" rors of my youth have mortified me so sen-" fibly, that my mind does not onely abhor the " facts themselves, but my ears cannot even endure the mention of them. I am perfectly " affured, that in all this regret and follicitude " you have born no fmall share with me: nor Vol. III.

" is it to be wonder'd at; for tho' you wish " me all fuccess for my sake, you are engaged " also to do it for your own: since it was al-" ways my refolution to make you the partner " of every good that may befal me. As I have " before therefore been the occasion of forrow " to you, fo it shall now be my business to "double your joy on my account. You must " know that I live in the utmost intimacy with " Cratippus; and like a Son, rather than a "Scholar: for I not onely hear his lectures "with pleasure, but am infinitely delighted " with his conversation. I spend whole days "with him, and frequently also a part of the " night: for I prevail with him, as often as I " can, to fup with me; and in our familiar chat, as we fit at table, the night steals upon " us without thinking of it, whilft he lays " afide the feverity of his philosophy, and jokes " amongst us with all the good humor imagi-" nable. Contrive therefore to come to us as " foon as possible, and see this agreeable and excellent man. For what need I tell you of "Bruttius? whom I never part with out of " my fight. His life is regular and exemplary, " and his company the most entertaining: he has the art of introducing questions of litera-" ture into conversation, and seasoning philo-" fophy with mirth. I have hired a lodging " for him in the next house to me; and supor port his poverty, as well as I am able, out " of my narrow income. I have begun also to "declame in Greek under Cassius; but chuse " to exercise myself in Latin with Bruttius. " live likewife in great familiarity, and the " perpetual company of those, whom Cratip-" pus brought with him from Mitylene; who

are men of learning, and highly esteem'd by " him. Epicrates alfo, the leading man at " Athens, and Leonidas, spend much of their "time with me; and many others of the fame " rank. This is the manner of my life at pre-" fent. As to what you write about Gorgias, *" he was useful to me indeed in my daily ex-" ercise of declaming; but I gave up all con-" fiderations for the fake of obeying my father ; " who wrote peremptorily that I should dismiss " him instantly. I complied therefore without " hesitation; lest by shewing any reluctance, I " might raise in him some suspicion of me. Be-" fides, I reflected, that it would feem indecent "in me to deliberate upon the judgement of a " father. Your zeal however and advice upon " it are very agreeable to me. I admit your ex-" cuse of want of leisure, for I know how much " your time is commonly taken up. I am " mightily pleased with your purchase of a " farm, and heartily wish you joy of it. Do " not wonder at my congratulating you in this " part of my letter, for it was the same part of " yours, in which you informed me of the pur-" chase. You have now a place, where you " may drop all the forms of the City, and are " become a Roman of the old ruftic stamp. I " please myself with placing your figure be-" fore my eyes, and imagining that I fee you " bartering for your country wares, or confult-"ing with your bailiff, or carrying off from " your table, in a corner of your vest, the seeds " of your fruits and melons for your garden. "But to be ferious; I am as much concerned " as you are, that I happened to be out of the " way, and could not affift you on that occa-" sion: but depend upon it, my Tiro, I will B b 2

f

e

)-

ıt

O

fe

I

he

p-

ho

re

" make you easy one time or other, if fortune does not disappoint me: especially since I

"know that you have bought this farm for the common use of us both. I am obliged to you

" for your care in executing my orders; but

" beg of you, that a Librarian may be fent to me in all haste, and especially a Greek one:

" for I waste much of my time in transcribing the lectures and books that are of use to me.

"Above all things, take care of your health,

"that we may live to hold many learned conferences together. I recommend Antherus to

" you. Adieu [y].

This was the fituation of young Cicero when Brutus arrived at Athens: who, as it has been already faid, was exceedingly taken with his virtue and good principles; of which he fent a high encomium to his Father; and entrusted him, tho' but twenty years old, with a principal command in his army: in which he acquitted himself with a singular reputation both of courage and conduct; and in feveral expeditions and encounters with the enemy, where he commanded in chief, always came off victorious. After the battel of Philippi, and the death of Brutus, he escaped to Pompey; who had taken possession of Sicily with a great army, and fleet superior to any in the Empire. This was the last refuge of the poor Republicans: where young Cicero was received again with particular honors; and continued fighting still in the defence of his country's liberty; till Pompey, by a treaty of peace with the Triumvirate, obtained, as one of the conditions of it, the pardon and restoration of all the proscribed and exiled Romans, who were then in arms with him [z].

CICERO

CICERO therefore took his leave of Pompey, and returned to Rome with the rest of his party: where he lived for fome time in the condition of a private Nobleman; remote from affairs and the Court of the Emperor; partly thro' the envy of the times, averse to his name and principles; partly thro' choice, and his old zeal fcr the Republican cause, which he retained still to the last. In this uneasy state, where he had nothing to rouze his virtue, or excite his ambition, it is not strange that he funk into a life of indolence and pleafure, and the intemperate love of wine; which began to be the fashionable vice of this age, from the example of Antony, who had lately published a volume on the triumphs of bis drinking. Young Cicero is faid to have practifed it likewife to great excess; and to have been famous for the quantity that he used to fwallow at a draught: as if he had resolved, fays Pliny, to deprive Antony, the murtherer of his Father, of the glory of being the first drunkard of the Empire [a].

Augus Tus however paid him the compliment in the mean while, to make him a Priest or Augus [b], as well as one of those Magstrates who presided over the coinage of the public money: in regard to which there is a medal still extant, with the name of Cicero on the one side, and Appius Claudius on the other; who was one of bis Collegues in this office [c]. But upon the Bb 2 last

[a] Nimirum hanc gloriam auferre Cicero voluit interfectori patris sui, Antonio. Is enim ante eum avidissime apprehenderat hanc palmam; edito etiam volumine de sua ebrietate. Plin. Hist. Nat. 14. 22. [6] Appian. p. 619.—
[6] Vid. And. Morell. Thefaur. Numism. inter Numm. Consul. Goltzii. Tab. 33. 4.

These superintendents of the public coinage were called Treviri, or Triumviri Monetales; last breach with Antony, Augustus no sooner became the fole Master of Rome, than he took him for his partner in the Confulship: so that his letters which brought the news of the victory at Actium, and conquest of Egypt, were addresfed to Cicero the Conful; who had the pleasure of publishing them to the Senate and People; as well as of making and executing that decree, which ordered all the statues and monuments of Antony to be demolished, and that no person of his Family should ever after bear the name of Marcus. By paying this honor to the Son, Augustus made some atonement for his treachery to the Father; and by giving the Family this opportunity of revenging his death upon Antony, fixed the blame of it also there; while the people looked upon it as divine and providential, that the final overthrow of Antony's name and fortunes should, by a strange revolution of affairs. be referved for the triumph of young Cicero [d]. Some honors are mentioned likewife to have

Monetales; and in Medals and old Inscriptions are defcribed thus; III. VIR. A. A. A. F.F. that is Auro, Argento, Ære Flando, Feriundo. Their number had always been three, till J. Cæfar, as it appears from several medals, enlarged it to four : whence in the coin of Cicero, just mentioned, we find him called, IIII. VIR. There was another Magifirate also of lower rank at Rome, called Treviri Capitales, who tried and judged all capital crimes among foreigners and flaves, or even

Citizens of inferior condition: in allusion to which, Cicero has a pleasant joke, in one of his Letters to Trebatius, when he was attending Cæsar in his wars against the Trewiri, one of the most sierce and warlike nations of Gaul: I admonish you, says he, to keep out of the way of those Treviri: they are of the Capital kind, I hear: I wish rather, that they were the coiners of gold and silver.

Ep. fam. 7.13.

[d] Plutar. in Cic. Dio. p. 456. Appian. p. 619. 672.

been decreed by Cicero, in this Confulship, to his partner Augustus; particularly an Obsidional Crown; which the made onely of the common grass, that happened to be found upon the scene of action, yet in the times of ancient discipline, was esteemed the noblest reward of military glory; and never bestowed but for the deliverance of an army, when reduced to the last distress [e]. This Crown therefore had not been given above eight times from the foundation of Rome: but with the oppression of its liberty, all its honors were servilely prostituted to the will of the reigning Monarch.

Soon after Cicero's Consulship, he was made Proconsul of Asia; or, as Appian says, of Syria; one of the most considerable Provinces of the Empire: from which time we find no farther mention of him in history. He died probably soon after, before a maturity of age and experience had given him the opportunity of retrieving the reproach of his intemperance, and distinguishing himself in the counsils of the state: but from the honors already mentioned, it is evident that his life, though blemish'd by some scandal, yet was not void of dignity: and amidst all the vices with which he is charged, he is allowed to have retained bis Father's wit and politeness [f].

Bb 4 THERE

[e] Corona quidem nulla fuit graminea nobilior—nunquam nisi in desperatione suprema contigit ulli; nisi ab universo exercitu servato decreta—eadem vocatur Obsidionalis—dabatur hæc viridi e gramine, decerpto inde ubi obsessos servasset aliquis—Ip-

fum Augustum cum M. Cicerone Consulem, idibus Septembribus Senatus Obsidionali donavit, &c. vid Plin. Hist. N. 22. c. 3, 4, 5, 6.

[f] Qui nihil ex paterno ingenio habuit, præter urbanitatem. M. Senec. Suasor. 6.

THERE are two stories related of him, which shew that his natural courage and high spirit were far from being subdued by the ruin of his party and fortunes: for being in company with fome friends, where he had drunk very hard; in the heat of wine and passion, he threw a cup at the head of Agrippa; who, next to Augustus, bore the chief sway in Rome [g]. He was provoked to it probably by some dispute in politics, or infult on the late champions, and vanquish'd cause of the Republic. At another time, during his government of Afia, one Cestius, who was afterwards Prætor, a flatterer of the times, and a reviler of his Father, having the affurance to come one day to his table, Cicero, after he had inquired his name, and understood that it was the man who used to insult the memory of bis Father, and declare that he knew nothing of polite letters, ordered him to be taken away and publicly whipt [b].

His nature feems to have been gay, frank, and generous; peculiarly turned to arms and martial glory: to which, by the unhappy fate of his country, he had been trained very young; and at an age, that is commonly dedicated to the arts of peace and studies of learning, had ferved with much honor to himself, in three successive wars, the most considerable in all history; of Pharsalia, Philippi, and Sicily. If his life therefore did not correspond with the splendor of his Father's, it seems chargeable to his missortune, rather than his fault; and to the miserable state of the times, which allowed no room for the attainment of his Father's honors.

or

[[]g] Marcoque Agrippæ a etum. Plin. Hist, N. 14. 22. temulento scyphum impa- [b] M. Senec. Suasor. 6.

or the imitation of his virtues: but if he had liv'd in better times, and a free Republic, tho' he would not have been so eminent a Scholar, or Orator, or Statesman as his Father, yet he would have excell'd him probably in that character, which conferr'd a more substantial power and dazzling glory, the same of a brave and

accomplish'd General.

The Characters of Q. Cicero the brother, of his Son Quintus, and of Atticus, have been fo frequently touched in the course of this History, that there is but little occasion to add any thing more about them. The two first, as we have already faid, upon the news of their being proscribed, took their leave of Cicero in his flight towards the fea, and returned to Rome; in order to furnish themselves with money and other necessaries for a voyage to Macedonia. They hoped to have executed this, before the profcription could take effect, or to lie concealed at least for a short time in the City, without the danger of a discovery: but the diligence of Antony's emissaries, and the particular instructions, that they had received to make fure of the Cicero's, eluded all their caution and hopes of concealment. The fon was found out the first; who is faid to have been more follicitous for the preservation of his father, than to provide for his own fafety: upon his refusal to discover, where his Father lay hid, he was put to the rack by the foldiers; till the Father, to rescue his son from torture, came out from his hiding place, and voluntarily furrendered himself; making no other request to his executioners, than that they would dispatch bim the first of the two. The fon urged the fame petition, to spare bim the misery of being

the spectator of his Father's murther; so that the affassins, to satisfy them both, taking each of them apart, killed them by agreement at the

fame time [i].

As to Atticus, the difficulty of the times, in which he lived, and the perpetual quiet, that he enjoyed in them, confirm what has already been observed of him, that he was a perfect Master of the principles of his sect, and knew how to secure that chief good of an Epicurean life, his private ease and safety. One would naturally imagine, that his union with Cicero and Brutus, added to the fame of his wealth, would have involved him of course in the ruin of the proscription: he himself was afraid of it, and kept himself concealed for some time; but without any great reason; for, as if he had forefeen fuch an event and turn of things, he had always paid a particular court to Antony; and, in the time even of his difgrace, when he was driven out of Italy, and his affairs thought desperate, did many eminent services to bis friends at Rome; and above all, to his wife and children; whom he affifted, not onely with his advice, but with his money also, on all occasions of their diffress: so that when Antony came to Rome, in the midst of the massacre, he made it his first care to find out Atticus; and no sooner learnt where he was, than he wrote him word with his own hand, to lay aside all fears, and come to bim immediately; and assigned bim a guard, to protect bim from any insult or violence of the soldiers [k].

IT

retur, amicissimus esse Bruto; non modo nihil iis indussit ad Antonium violandum, sed e contrario famili-

[[]i] Dio p. 333. Appian. 601. Plutar. in Cic.

[[]k] Atticus, cum Cicero-

IT must be imputed likewise to the same principle of Atticus's caution, and a regard to his fafety, that after fo long and intimate a correspondence of letters with Cicero, on the most important transactions of that age, of which there are fixteen books of Cicero's still remaining. yet not a fingle Letter of Atticus's was ever published: which can hardly be charged to any other cause, but his having withdrawn them from Tiro, after Cicero's death, and suppressed them with a fingular care; left in that revolution of affairs, and extinction of the public liberty, they should ever be produced to his hurt, or the diminution of his credit with their new Masters.

Bur his interest with the reigning powers was foon established on a more folid foundation. than that of his personal merit, by the marriage of his onely daughter with M. Agrippa; which was first proposed and brought about by Antony. This introduced him into the friendship and familiarity of Augustus, whose Minister and Favorite Agrippa was; and to whom he himself became afterwards nearly allied, by the marriage of his Grandaughter with his successor Tiberius [1]. Thus he added dignity to his quiet;

ares ejus ex urbe profugientes, quantum potuit, texitipsi autem Fulviæ, cum litibus distineretur — sponsor omnium rerum fuerit-itaque ad adventum Imperatorum de foro decesserat, timens proscriptionem -- Antonius autem -ei, cum requifisset, ubinam esset, sua manu scripfit, ne timeret, statimque ad se veniret—ac ne quid periculum incideret corum fanxit. Ib. 19.

_præsidium ei misit. Corn. Nep. in vit. Attici x.

[/] Atque harum nuptiarum, non enim est celandum, conciliator fuit Antonius. [ibid. 12.] Nata ett autem Attico neptis ex Agrippa. Hanc Cæsar vix anniculam, Tibero Claudio Neroni Drufilla nato, privigno suo despondit. Quæ conjunctio necessitudinem

quiet; and lived to a good old age, in the very manner in which he wished; happy and honorable; and remote from all trouble, or the apprehension of danger. But that he still lives, in the fame and memory of ages, is intirely owing to the circumstance, of his having been Cicero's friend: for this, after all, was the chief honor of his life: and, as Seneca truly observed, it was the Epistles of Cicero, which preserved him from oblivion; and neither his fon Agrippa, nor Grandson Tiberius, nor great Grandson Drusus, would have been of any service to him, if Cicero's name, by drawing Atticus's along with it, bad not given bim an immortality [m].

Ciceronis Epistolæ non sinunt. Nihil illi profuisset gener Agrippa, & Tiberius progener, & Drusus prone-

wife the fire forces and

-rear rest Court and a alcelen, There Clade

: 20000

[m] Nomen Attici perire pos: inter tam magna nomina taceretur, nisi Cicero illum applicuisset. Senec. Ep.

> rum i e en a decidion i, ii--of --- promote company

FINIS.

entrant direct offer har Navai Dublic acts, ent-Loop Continuous to out one of the confidence in the continuous confidence in the continuous continu maplicatives of the vestign of the security of the southern and the die there and the complete the best to be the second

facilitativa introduction and a recognitive face and it convey the logs was a six but whom he set yet foully visites the working one of a signal

could need the control of the territory and the



INDEX.

A.

$oldsymbol{A_{ullet}}$
A CADEMY; a School of Philosophy at Athens: an account of it's name, origin and fituation,
Note [f] Vol. III. Page 325. it's doctrines,
327. New Academy; it's distinction from the old, 328. it's principles and method of philosophizing, 329.
kept the proper medium between the Stoic and the
Sceptic, 331. the most rational of all sects, 332. best adapted to the profession of an Orator, 334. almost deserted in Cicero's time;—why; ibid. the notion of
a third or middle Academy groundless, Note [e] 335.
the Academic principles the best calculated for practical
life; compared with those of the Stoics, and the Epi-
cureans, 360, &c. Aculeo, C. married Cicero's aunt. I. 2
His two Sons bred up with Cicero. I. 9
Adoption, the conditions and effects of it. I. 82, 83
Ediles, the nature and duties of their office, I. 117. often ruin themselves by the expence of their shews. 118
Edileship or Tribunate, a necessary step to the superior
dignities. I. 78 Eschillus of Cnidos, an eminent Rhetorician, attended
Cicero in his travels. I. 46
Esopus, the Tragoedian, applies several passages of his parts in acting to the case of Cicero. I. 412
Afranius, L. Conf. his character. I. 285
Agrarian Laws; fome account of them. I. 161
Agriculture, the most liberal employment in old Rome. I. 7.
Abenobarbus, L. Domitius, repulsed from the Consulship by the Triumvirate. II. 71
Alaudæ; the name of a Legion raised by Cæsar; an account of it. Note [u] III. 92
Albinovanus, M. Tullius, a friend of Clodius, accuses P. Sextius of public violence. II. 45.
Allobroges, their Embassadors sollicited to enter into Catiline's plot, I. 207. are examined in the Senate. 210
Amanus; a mountainous part of Cilicia, subdued by Ci-
cero. II. 193

Antiochus, a Philosopher of the old Academy, with whom Cicero lodged at Athens.

I. 43

Antiochus, King of Comagene; his petition to the Senate rejected by Cicero's influence, II. 91. sends notice to Cicero that the Parthians had passed the Euphrates, 181 Antonius, C. candidate for the Consulship; guilty of open bribery—supported by Crassus and Cæsar, I. 149, 350, chosen Consul with Cicero, and wholly managed by him, 158. sent out with an army against Catiline, 197, is unwilling to fight, 233. condemned to exil for his oppressions in Macedonia, 303. defeated and taken prifoner by young Cicero, III. 174. raises a sedition in Brutus's camp, confined by him on shipboard. 218 Antonius, M. Grandsather of the Triumvir; his head fix-

ed upon the Rostra by C. Marius.

1. 24

Antonius, M. the father of the Triumvir, invades Crete, but is defeated and dies with difference. I. 71.

Antonius, M. Tribun, makes an Invective Oration against Pompey, II. 233. opposes all decrees against Cæsar, 235. flies to Cæsar's camp, 236. his character, ibid. his flight the pretext of the war, 239. excludes all the Pompeians from Italy, except Cicero, 308. declared Mafter of the Horse to Cæsar, 318. his luxurious manner of living; -compelled by Cæfar to pay for his purchase of Pompey's houses, 403. made Consul with Cæfar; quarrels with Dolabella, 413. offers a Regal Diadem to Cæfar, 416. preserved by the two Brutus's, when Cæsar was killed, 429. dissembles his real views; manages Lepidus to his interests; deludes the conspirators, III. 9. contrives the tumult at Cæfar's funeral, 14. makes a progress through Italy, to follicit the veteran foldiers, 24. his pernicious use of the Decree for confirming Cæsar's acts, 46. seizes the public treasure, 48. bribes Dolabella to his interests; treats Octavius with contempt, 62, recommends an accommodation with S. Pompey to the Senate, 70. endeavours to extort the Provinces of Macedonia and Syria from Brutus and Cassius, 80. threatens Cicero, 81. answers his first Philippic, 85. erects a statue to Cæsar, 90. puts three hundred Centurions to death, 96. is enraged against Octavius, and Q. Cicero the fon, ibid. refolves to possess himself of Cisalpine Gaul, and make war against D. Brutus, 98. besieges Decimus in Modena, 104. receives an embassy from the Senate, 115, refuses to comply with their demands.

mands, 123. reduces Modena to great straits, 157. tries to bring over Hirtius and Octavius to his measures, 163. gains an advantage against Pansa, but is deseated by Hirtius, 193. intirely routed in a second battle by Octavius and Hirtius; slies to the Alps, 205. is
received by Lepidus, 227. forms the league of the second Triumvirate with Cæsar and Lepidus; proscribes
his uncle, 276. a summary view of his conduct from
Cæsar's death, ibid. gives 8000 l. for Cicero's head, and
orders it to be fixed upon the Rostra.

281

Appian, a Copier of Plutarch. Preface xxiv Appius, Cicero's predecessor in his Government, displeased with Cicero's proceedings in it, II. 204. impeached by Dolabella, and acquitted, 209. exercises the Censorship with rigor, 211. afferted the reality of Divination as an Augur, and was laughed at for it. III. 348

Appuleius, Tribun, makes a speech in desence of Cicero's measures. III. 193

Aquilius, M. delivered up to Mithridates by the City of Mitylene. I. 50

Aratus's Phænomena, translated by Cicero, I. 16. and alfo his Prognostics.

I. 290

Arcefilas, the fixth successor of Plato, in the Academic School, founded the New Academy. III. 328, 329 Archias, an eminent Poet; the Master of Cicero; lived with Lucullus, I. 11. defended by Cicero. 270

Ariobarzanes, King of Cappadocia, recommended to Cicero; begs his affiftance upon the discovery of a plot, II. 182, 183. drained of his money by the Roman Governors.

Aristotle, his works first brought into Italy by Sylla, I. 30. the scholar of Plato, and sounder of the Peripatetic Sect, III. 327. held the Nature of God, and the Soul to be a fifth Essence.

Arpinum, the native City of Cicero, and C. Marius,—admitted to the freedom of Rome; it's territory rude and mountainous.

Ateius, Trib. declares the expedition of Crassus prohibited by the Auspices, II. 85. turned out of the Senate for it by Appius. ibid.

Atticus, a furname given to T. Pomponius; of the Epicurean fect, I. 43. purchases for Cicero at Athens several statues and curiosities of Grecian sculpture, 142. employs his slaves in copying all the best Greek writers,

144. refuses to follow Cicero in his exil, 370. chides him for his dejection, 377. Supplies him with money; is thought too cold by him, 391. vifits him at Dyrrhachium. 398. marries Pilia, II. 54. complains to Cicero of Quintus's usage of his fifter Pomponia, 169, labours to reconcile Cicero to Cæsar's administration, 397. his tenderness at parting from Cicero, III. 64. his goodnature fometimes got the better of his philosophy, 65. his political conduct and principles compared with Cicero's and Cato's, 362. his life a true pattern of the Epicurean scheme, 378. why none of his Letters to Cicero were ever published, 379. his daughter married to Agrippa, his grandaughter to Tiberius; but his chief glory was Cicero's friendship. Augurs, their College, an account of it, II. 140. presided over the Auspices, as the interpreters of the will of Jove, III. 346. their dignity and powers.

Aufpices, often forged by Marius and Sylla, to animate their foldiers.

I. 52

Autronius, P. Pætus, convicted of bribery, forfeits the Consulthip. I. 138. banish'd, for conspiring with Cati-

line. 254.

B

Albus, Corn. defended by Cicero; his character, II. 64
begs of Cicero to act the mediator between Cæfar
and Pompey, 263. and to stand neuter. 269
Bayle, Mr. a mistake of his corrected. Note [p.] II. 366
Bestia, L. his character; defended by Cicero. II. 42
Bibulus, chosen Consul with Cæsar, II. 297. opposes
Clodius's Adoption, 304. injuriously treated by Cæsar,
306. shuts himself up in his house, 308. provokes the
Triumvirate by his Edicts, 320. attacks Amanus, and
is repulsed with loss, III. 196. obtains the decree of a
supplication, 199. aspires to a Triumph. 228
Bona-Dea, her mysteries polluted by P. Clodius. I. 261
Brutus, D. one of the Conspirators against Cæsar, his

Brutus, D. one of the Conspirators against Cæsar, his character, II. 426. seizes the Province of Cisalpine Gaul, III. 17. sorbids Antony the entrance of it, 99. desends Modena against him with great vigor, 193. assists in the deseat of Antony, 205. pursues him, 222. joins his army with Plancus, 228. is deserted by Plancus, 241. and kill'd by Antony's soldiers. 242

Brutus, M. Father of him who stabbed Cæsar, surrenders himself to Pompey, and is killed by his order, I. 55.

lends money to King Ariobarzanes; and to the Salaminians; at an exorbitant interest; presses Cicero to follicit the payment of it, II. 185. joins with Pompey against Cæsar, and acts with a particular zeal, 205. writes the Life of Cato, 344. puts away his wife Claudia, and marries Porcia, Cato's daughter, 382, makes an oration to Cæsar, in savour of King Deiotarus, 407. chief of the conspiracy against Cæsar, -his character, 419. his descent from old L. Brutus afferted, and the story of his being Cæfar's fon confuted, ibid. Note [i] speaks to the people in the Capitol after Cæsar's death. III. 7, driven out of the city by Antony's management, retires with Cassius to Lanuvium, 16, expostulates with Antony by Letter, 50. invites Cicero to a conference, 60, his shews and plays received with applause by the city, 67. prepares to seize Macedonia by force, 80. fends an account of his fuccess in that expedition, 135. takes C. Antony prisoner, 174. treats him with lenity, 175. displeased with the Ovation decreed to Octavius, 211, secures C. Antony on shipboard, 218. cannot be perfuaded to come to Italy, 247. his behaviour in Greece, 251. displeased with Cicero's meafures, 252. his conduct compared with Cicero's; inconfistent with itself.

Brutus, L. a Medal with his Head on one fide, and A-HALA on the other; a conjecture on the reason of it.

Note [x] III. 4

Bursa, T. Munatius Plancus, accused by Cicero, and condemned to banishment. II. 159

CElius, M. his character; defended by Cicero, II. 65. fends the news of Rome to Cicero, 176. chosen Ædile, and defires Cicero to supply him with wild beasts for his shews, 215. presses Cicero to remain neuter in the civil war, 276. his death and character, 300 Carellia, a learned Lady, and correspondent of Cicero.

III. 30

Cæsar, J. nearly allied to C. Marius; marries Cornelia, Cinna's daughter, refuses to put her away; is deprived of her fortune, and the Priesthood, by Sylla, I. 33. retires into the country; is discovered by Sylla's soldiers; obtains his life with difficulty; Sylla's prediction of him, ibid. gains a Civic crown at the Siege of Mitylene, 50. zealous to restore the power of the Tribuns, Vol. III.

115. made use of them to overturn the Republic, 116, excelled all men in the magnificence of his shews, 118, a zealous promoter of the Manilian law, 135, suspected of a conspiracy against the state, 139, revives the Marian cause; prosecutes the Agents of Sylla's cruelty; but spares Catiline, 152. Suborns T. Labienus to accuse C. Rabirius, 171. whom he condemns, 172. elected High-Prieft, 175, votes for faving the lives of Catiline's Accomplices, 220. in danger of being killed for it, 234. Supports Metellus against Cicero; his attempts against Catulus, 243. suspended from his office, 245. his suspension reversed, ibid. impeached by L. Vettius, and Q. Curius, of Catiline's plot, 253, takes his revenge on them both, 254. puts away his wife, 263. his behaviour on the trial of Clodius, 265. invites Pompey to make himself Master of the Republic, 271, supports Clodius against Cicero, 291. returns with glory from Spain, 296. chosen Consul with Bibulus, 297. forms a triple league between Pompey, Craffus, and himfelf, ibid. procures Clodius's Adoption, 303. carries an Agrarian law by violence, 307, gains the favor of the Knights; fends Cato to prison, 308, ratifies Pompey's acts in Asia, and humbles Lucullus, ibid. feigns a quarrel with Clodius, 310. provoked by the Edicts of Bibulus, 321. fuborns Vettius to fwear a plot upon young Curio, and the nobles of the opposite party, 324. ftrangles Vettius in prison, 326. endeavours to force Cicero to a dependance upon him, offers to make him his Lieutenant in Gaul, 330. provoked by Cicero's refufal, affifts Clodius, and throws the blame on Cicero, ibid. reconciles Pifo to Clodius, 337. condemns the proceedings of Cicero against Lentulus, and the rest, 345. the legality of his acts questioned in the Senate, 353. goes to his Province of Gaul, ibid. congraulates Clodius upon his management of Cato, 366. consents to Cicero's Restoration, 373. has his Province prolonged to him by Cicero's affiftance, II. 43. has an Interview with Pompey at Luca, 49. reconciles Pompey and Crassus, 70. his second expedition into Britain, 101. extremely kind to Q. Cicero, 106. presses Cicero to defend Vatinius, 115. and also Gabinius, 120. bears the loss of his daughter Julia with firmness, and prepares himself for a breach with Pompey, 128, 129, alarms the city with the prospect of a civil war, 165. pleased with

with the coldness between Cicero and Cato; labors to increase it, 199. puts an end to the Gallic war, 212. bribes Paullus and Curio to his interests, 218. ordered by the Senate to dismiss his army, 235. passes the Rubicon, 240. offers terms of peace, 244. is not fincere in it, 246, the nature of his attempt confidered, 247, takes Corfinium, and treats his prisoners with generofity, 254. presses Cicero to stand neuter, 264, 274. seizes upon the public treasure, 280. marches into Spain, and defeats Pompey's Lieutenants, 296. created Dictator, makes himself Consul, goes after Pompey, 297, befieges him at Dyrrhachium, without fuccess; quits the fiege, 299. gains a complete victory at Pharfalia, 304. his conduct and Pompey's compared, 313. declared Dictator a second time, 317. writes kindly to Cicero, 324. has an interview with him, 326. difgusts the City by his manner of creating Confuls, 327. embarks for Afric, ibid. the time of his embarkment cleared from a feeming contradiction between Cicero and Hirtius, ibid. Note [b]. he returns victorious; is extravagantly flattered by the Senate, 333. his regard for Cicero, 343. answers Cicero's Cato, 346. pardons M. Marcellus, 349. reforms the Kalendar. 355. pardons Ligarius, 359. goes into Spain against Pompey's sons, 363. sends Cicero an account of his fuccess, 396. publishes his Anti-Cato, 404. triumphs, 405. inclined to ruin King Deiotarus, whom Cicero and Brutus defend, 407. shocked by Brutus's freedom in that cause, ibid. shortens the term of the Confulship, to oblige the more friends with it, 413. open to all kinds of flattery, and desirous of the Title of King, 414. his death and character, 431, 432. worshipped as a Deity by the meaner veral points against Cicero. Capital, burnt down in Sylla's time, and rebuilt by Q.

Calenus, the head of Antony's party, III. 119. carries fe-

Lutatius Catulus.

Carbo, Cn. Papirius, driven out of Italy by Sylla, killed by Pompey.

Carneades, a Professor of the New Academy; which he carried to its highest glory.

Cassius, C. blocked up in Antioch by the Parthians; gains an advantage over them, II. 191. conspires against Cafar's life; his character, 422, retires with M. Brutus Cc 2

to Lanuvium, III. 17. chosen Patron of Puteoli with the two Brutus's, 49. expostulates by Letter with Antony, 50. prepares for an attempt upon Syria, 80. his success in Syria, 168. defeats Dolabella, 222. his preparations for the war, and conduct vindicated, 250. compared with Brutus's.

Cassius, Q. the Tribun, opposes all motions against Cæsar, II. 235. flies to Cæsar's camp.

ibid.

Catiline, disappointed of the Consulship, enters into a Conspiracy against the state, I. 139. accused for his oppressions in Afric; sollicits Cicero to undertake his cause, 146. bribes his accuser P. Clodius to betray it, 147. bribes openly for the Consulship, supported by Crassius and Cæsar, 149. cuts off the head of C. Marius Gratidianus, and presents it to Sylla; accused by L. Paullus of murthering Citizens in Sylla's proscription; suspected of an incessuous commerce with Fabia, the Vestal, 152, 153. sues for the Consulship a second time, 175. forms a design against Cicero's life, 176. his character, 177. the plan of his conspiracy, 179. fails in a design against Præneste, 114. leaves the City, 191. is declared a public enemy, 197. blocked up by Q. Metellus, and C. Antonius, 233. deseated and killed. 234

Cato, C. Trib. his character, II. 28. declares himself against the restoration of King Ptolemy, 29. treats Pompey roughly, 40. makes himself ridiculous by the sale of his gladiators, 56. hinders the Consuls from chusing Magistrates.

Cato, M. Porcius, his speech for putting Catiline's Accomplices to death, I. 228. obtains a decree for that purpose in his own words, 230. declares Cicero, the Father of his Country, 236. accepts the Commission granted by Clodius's law to depose Ptolemy King of Cyprus, 360. maintains the legality of Clodius's Tribunate, 362. repulsed from the Prætorship, II. 82. Augustus's moderation with regard to his character, Note, III. 285. his political principles and conduct compared with Cicero's.

Censors; an account of them, I. 171. their office restored, after an intermission of 17 years, and exercised with severity.

Centuries, the division of the people into Centuries. I. 131,

Cethegus, one of Catiline's Conspirators, his character, I. 181. put to death, 231.

Characters of persons, in what manner to be drawn. Pref. xviii Character of Mithridates, I. 22. of C. Marius, 26. of Sylla, 51. of Roscius, the Comedian, 57. of Sertorius, 73, 74. of M. Craffus, 77. of Catiline, 177. of Lentulus, 180. of Cethagus, 181. of Lucullus, 239. of P. Clodius, 261. of M. Pup. Pifo, 270. of L. Calp. Piso, 335. of A. Gabinius, 338. of Piso, Cicero's son, 420. of Trebatius, II. 99. of P. Crassius, 139. of Q. Hortenfius, 223. of M. Antony, 235. of Pompey, 312, of Curio, 319. of Cato, 344, 360, 365. of Ligarius, 362. of Tullia, 366. of M. Marcellus, 385. of Mamurra, Note [1] 409. of M. Brutus, 419. of C. Caffius, 422. of D. Brutus, 426. of Trebonius, 427. of J Czefar, 432. of Matius, III. 41. Note [k] 45. of Servilia, 60. of Sulpicius, 132, 134. Note [k] of Hirtius, 206. of Pansa, 207. of Messala, Note [i] 256. of Octavius, 277. of Lepidus, ibid. of Atticus, 64, 362, 380

Gicero, M. the Grandfather; fome account of him; had two fons, Marcus and Lucius.

I. 8

Cicero, M. the Father; a man of letters and politeness; educates his children with great care, under the direction of Crassus, I. 9. had a house in Rome, on Mount Palatin, 10. saw his son Consul.

Cicero, L. the coufin of Cicero; an account of him. I. 123 Cicero, Q. the brother, obtains the government of Afia, and quarrels with Atticus for refusing to be his Lieutenant, I. 278. proposes to visit his Brother at Thessalonica, in his return from Asia, but is disappointed, 374. arrives at Rome, 382. saves his life in a tumult by hiding himself under the bodies of the dead, II. 22. driven from his house by Clodius, 406. made one of Cæsar's Lieutenants in Gaul and Britain, 95, 101. projects a poem on Cæsar's British expedition.

Cicero, M. T. when born, I. 1. an account of his family, 3. called a New man, and why; his family feat, 5. now possessed by Dominican Friers, ibid. received the name of his Father and Grandsather, Marcus; the name of Cicero, whence derived, 6. educated with his cousins, the young Aculeo's, under the direction of L. Crassus, 9. placed in a public school under a Greek master, 10. committed to the Poet Archias; much addicted to Poetry; publishes a poem while a boy; takes the manly gown, 12. put under the care of Q. Muc.

C c 3 Scævola,

x

Scavola the Augur; afterwards of Scavola the High-Priest; acquires a complete knowledge of the laws, 14. his manner of improving himself, 15, he translates Aratus's Phænomena into Latin verse; publishes a poem in honor of C. Marius; another, called Limon; his poetical genius scarce inferior to his oratorial, 17. studies Philosophy; is fond of Phædrus, the Epicurean; deferts the principles of that fect, 18. makes a campaign with the Conful Cn. Pompeius Strabo, in the Marsic war; was present at a conference between the Conful and the General of the Marfi, 19. ferves as a volunteer under Sylla, relates a remarkable action, at which he was present, 21. faw the entry of C. Marius into Rome, 24. writes his Rhetorical pieces, 28. scholar to Philo, the Academic; refumes his oratorial fludies under Molo, the Rhodian, 20. studies Logic with Diodotus the Stoic; declames in Latin and Greek with M. Piso and Q. Pompeius, ibid. puts himself a second time under Molo, 35. improves his language by the conversation of the Ladies, 37. offers himself to the Bar, ibid. undertakes the cause of P. Quinctius, 38. defends S. Roscius of Ameria, ibid. is applauded for it by the whole city, 39. defends the rights of certain towns of Italy to the freedom of Rome, which Sylla had taken from them, 42. travels into Greece and Afia, 43. lodges at Athens with Antiochus, ibid. meets there with Atticus; is initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, pursues his Rhetorical studies under Demetrius the Syrian, 44. goes over into Asia, where he is attended by the principal Orators of that country, 46. visits Rhodes on his return, where he studies Philosophy with Posidonius, and declames in Greek with Molo, ibid. 47. comes back to Rome after an excursion of two years, 48. his travels the only scheme of travelling with credit, 49. the story of his journey to the Delphic Oracle suspected, 56. he marries Terentia, 63. is made Quæstor, pleads the cause of Roscius the Comedian, 57. enters upon the Quæstorship of Sicily, 65. greatly honored by the Sicilians, pleads for fome young Officers of quality, 67. finds out the tomb of Archimedes, unknown to the Syracufians, 68. his return to Italy, 69. resolves to reside constantly in Rome, ibid. strictly observes the Cincian law, 76. takes all the usual ways of recommending himself to the people, 80. is

is elected Curule Ædile; undertakes the profecution of Verres, 84. goes to Sicily in fearch of facts and evidence against him; his reception at Syracuse, 87, 88. and at Messana, 89. defeats all the projects of Verres, by a new way of proceding, and forces him into exil, or, offends the Nobility by it, 93. fecures the affection of the citizens, is supplied with provisions during his Ædileship by the Sicilians, 120. defends Cæcina and Fonteius, 122. declared Prætor in three different affemblies, 130. condemns Licinius Macer, 131. ascends the Rostra the first time, in defence of the Manilian law, 134. defends A. Cluentius, 136. frequents the school of Gnipho, 137. defends Manilius, 138. refuses to accept any Province, 140. takes great pains in fuing for the Consulship, ibid. 141. employs Atticus to purchase statues and other curiofities for him at Athens, 142. defends C. Cornelius, 145. inclined to defend Catiline, 146. changes his mind, ibid. appears a candidate for the Consulship, 148. delivers his speech called in Toga candida; defends Q. Gallius, 150. proclamed Conful by the acclamation of the whole people, 154. has a fon born to him, 155. draws his Collegue, C. Antonius, from his old engagements, to the interest of the Republic, 158. unites the Equestrian order with the Senate, 159. opposes Rullus's Agrarian law, 162. appeales the people, in a tumult against Otho, 167. persuades the sons of the proscribed to bear their condition with patience, 169. defends C. Rabirius, 170. publishes a new law against bribery, 175. charges Catiline with traiterous designs, 176. is ordered to take care that the Republic receive no harm, ibid. is informed by Curius of all Catiline's measures, 184, summons the Senate to the Temple of Jupiter; decrees a reward to the first discoverer of the plot, 185. drives Catiline out of the city by a resolute speech, 186. his second speech against Catiline, 192. defends L. Murena, 199. and C. Pifo, 206, instructs the Embassadors of the Allobroges how to convict the conspirators, 207. has publie thanks, and a supplication decreed to him for preferving the city, 212. his third speech against Catiline, ibid. publishes copies of the trial and confession of the conspirators, 216. his fourth speech against Catiline, 221. stifles the information against Cæsar, 235. declared the Father of his Country, receives honors from all Cc 4

the towns of Italy, 236. makes a law to limit the Les gatio libera, 237, helps to procure a triumph for L. Lucullus, 238. decrees a thankfgiving of ten days to Pompey, 239, not fuffered by the Tribun Metellus to speak to the people, at the expiration of his Confulship, 241, publishes an Oration against Metellus; writes to Q, Metellus about his Brother's treatment of him, 246. his Letter to Pompey, 251. gives evidence against Autronius, 254. defends P. Sylla, ibid. buys a house on the Palatine hill with borrowed money, 258, gives testimony against Clodius, 265. defends the Poet Archias, 270. his judgment of Cato, 214. moderates Pompey's Agrarian law to the fatisfaction of both parties, 286. not permitted to leave Rome, when chosen by lot an Embassador to the Gallic cities, 287, publishes the memoirs of his Consulship in Greek, ibid. writes a Latin poem on his own history, 289. publishes his Consular Orations; and Aratus's Prognostics, translated by him into Latin verse, 290. unites himself with Pompey; justifies this step, 292. his conduct with regard to Cæsar, and the Triumvirate, 300. defends C. Antonius, his Collegue, 303. employs himself in pleading causes, 313. defends L. Valerius Flaccus, ibid. advises Pompey to a breach with Cæfar, 324. is alarmed by Clodius's Tribunate; presses Atticus to return to Rome, 328. refuses the honors offered by Cæfar, 330. depends on Pompey, but finds reason to distrust him, 331. expresses an inclination to the Augurate; but drops it, 333. is vindicated from an unjust censure on that account, Note ibid. conceives hopes of Pifo and Gabinius, but is foon convinced of his mistake, 335. provides L. Ninnius, Trib. to oppose Clodius's laws; but confents to let them pass, 339. is reduced to the condition of a criminal, and changes his habit upon it, 340. is defended by the Knights, and young Nobility, who perpetually attend him, 341. is deferted by Pompey, 347. fubmits to a voluntary exil; and confecrates a statue of Minerva in the Temple of Jupiter, 350. repents his quitting the city; charges the advisers of it with perfidy, 360. explanes the motives of his retreat, 362, spends several days at Vibo, not suffered to enter into Sicily by C. Virgilius the Prætor, 368. honorably received by all the towns through which he passed, 369. presses Atticus to come to him, ibid. lodges with M. Lenius near Brundifium,

difium, 371. his Dream, 372. arrives at Dyrrhachium, is conducted to Thessalonica by Cn. Plancius, 374. declines an interview with his Brother, 375. his dejection in his exil, 377. uneasy for the publication of one of his Invective Orations, 387. returns to Dyrrhachium, 306. displeased with the management of his friends at Rome, ibid. his restoration decreed in Marius's monument, 410. and confirmed by all the Centuries, 419. his progress from Brundissum to Rome, 421, &c. returns thanks to the Senate and People, II. 2. propofes a law for granting to Pompey the administration of all the corn and provisions of the Republic, 7. pleads for the restitution of his Palatin house, tt. rebuilds his Tusculan Villa, 21. takes down the acts of his banishment from the Capitol, ibid. is affaulted in the streets by Clodius, 23. labors to get the commission of restoring King Ptolemy granted to Lentulus, 31. unites himself with Pompey, 40. defends L. Bestia, 42. promotes a decree for prolonging Cæsar's Command, 43. defends P. Sextius, 45. moves for reconfidering Cæfar's Act, for the division of the Campanian lands; but drops that motion, 48, 49, the grounds of his conduct towards the Triumvirate, &c. 51. rebuilds his houses, 54. made uneasy in his domestic affairs, ibid. applies the answer of the Haruspices to the violences of Clodius, 59. perfuades the Senate to recall Pifo and Gabinius from their Provinces, 63. defends Corn. Balbus and M. Cælius, 64. writes a Poem in compliment to Cæsar, 66. engages Lucceius to Write the History of his Acts, 68. speaks his Invective Oration against Piso, 77. is present at Pompey's shews, and defends Gallus Caninius, 81. finishes his Palatin house, and prepares an Inscription for it, and for the Temple of Tellus, 83. his quarrel and reconciliation with Crassus, 86. finishes his piece on the complete Orator, 87. composes a Treatise on Politics, 92. enters into an intimacy with Cæsar, 95. writes a series of Letters to Trebatius in Gaul, 100. fends a Greek Poem on his Confulship to Cæsar, and writes an Epic Poem in honour of him, 105. defends Plancius, 114. and Vatinius, 115. gives evidence against Gabinius, 117. defends him in a second trial, 121. apologizes for that conduct, ibid. defends C. Rabirius, 125. accepts Pompey's Lieutenancy in Spain, but refigns it, 130, begins a correspondence of Letters with Curio, 136. elected into the College of Augurs, 140. uses his utmost endeavours in promoting Milo to the Confulship, 142. not deterred from undertaking Milo's defence, 150. accuses the Tribun Bursa, 159. writes his Treatise on Laws, 161. decides a dispute about the Inscription prepared by Pompey for his New Temple, 163. Succedes to the Government of Cilicia against his will, 164. not pleased with his Provincial Government, 168. fets forward towards it. 169. fends an account to Atticus of Pomponia's behaviour to his Brother, ibid. has an interview with Pompey at Tarentum, 172. arrives at Athens, and lodges with Aristus, 173. writes to C. Memmius, in favor of the Epicureans, 174. rallies Trebatius on his turning Epicurean, ibid. fets forward towards Afia, 176. lands at Ephefus, 179. arrives at Laodicea; and enters upon his command, 180. forbids all expence to be made upon himself or company, by the Cities through which he passed, ibid. secures his Province from the inroads of the Parthians, 182. takes King Ariobarzanes under his protection, ibid. refuses to accept any present from him, 185. follicits him to pay his debt to Brutus with the money offered to himfelf, ibid. frees the Salaminians from the oppressions of Scaptius. Brutus's agent, 187. complains of Brutus to Atticus, 188. faluted Emperor by his army, 193. takes Pindenissum, 194. receives hostages from the Tiburani, 195. entertains thoughts of a triumph; fends an account of his expedition to Cato, 197. has a publick Thanksgiving decreed to him, ibid. is displeased with Cato, for refusing his vote to it, 199. fends his fon and nephew to king Deiotarus's Court, 200. governs his Province with fingular moderation and probity, 201. difgusts his Predecessor Appius by it, 204. resolves to asfift Appius, when impeached by his fon-in-law Dolabella, 210. begs of the Confuls by letter, not to prolong his Government, 218. commits his province to his Quæstor, 221. calls at Rhodes on his Return, 222. is much affected with the news of Hortenfius's death, ib. arrives at Athens, 225. refolves to fue for a Triumph, 229. has an interview with Pompey, 231. follicits an accommodation between him and Cæfar, 233. arrives at Rome, 234. has the command of Capua committed to him; but refigns it, 241. has an interview with Cæfar,

far, 271. pressed by Cæsar, Antony &c. not to follow Pompey, 274. refolves to go after him, 281. has a conference with Servius Sulpicius, 288. goes to Pompey, 290. his behaviour in that camp, and fentiments of the war, 293. some of his Jokes upon the management of it, Note [u] 294. he refuses the command of it after the battle at Pharfalia, 305. had like to have been killed for it by young Pompey, ibid. returns to Italy. 307. finds his domestic affairs in great disorder, 308. uneasy in his refidence at Brundisium, 318. received kindly by Cæfar; returns to Rome, 326. resumes his studies; and enters into a strict friendship with Varro, 328. puts away his wife Terentia, 331. marries Publilia, 332. his railleries on Cæsar's administration, Note [m] 334. caressed by Cæsar and his friends, 339, 340. writes a book in praise of Cato, 344, publishes his Orator, 348. returns thanks to Cæfar for the pardon of M. Marcellus, 349. defends Ligarius, 359. fends his fon to Athens, 364. exceedingly afflicted by the death of his daughter, 365. refolves to build a Temple to her, 377. his reasons for it, Note [f] 378. applies himself closely to the study of philosophy, 389. publishes a piece called Hortenfius; another on the Philosophy of the Academy. 391. his Treatise de Finibus, 392. his Tusculan Disputations, 394. writes a funeral Encomium on Porcia. Cato's fifter, 395. is preffed to write fomething to Cæfar; but discouraged by the difficulty of it, 398. defends King Deiotarus, 407. entertains Cæsar at his house, 408. how far accessary to Cæsar's death, III. 3. urges the Conspirators to support that act by vigorous measures, 10. leaves Rome, distatisfied with the indolence of his friends, 18. difgusted by Cleopatra, in an interview with her, 22. endeavours to draw Hirtius and Panfa to the interests of the Republic, 30. writes his Treatife on the Nature of the Gods; on Divination, 52. on the Advantages of old Age; on Friendship, 53. on Fate; his Anecdote, 54. approaches towards Rome, but is diffuaded from entring it, 56. obtains an honorary Lieutenancy; and resolves to visit his Son at Athens, 57. labors to reconcile Hirtius to the Conspirators, 59. affists at a conserence with Brutus and his friends, 60. begins to cherish Octavius, as a check to Antony, 62. begins his book of Offices, 63. and an Oration adapted to the times, ibid. takes his leave of Atticus with great tender-

tenderness, ibid. sends him his piece on Glory, 64. some account of that piece, Note [2] ibid. fets forward towards Athens, 74. writes his Treatise of Topics at sea, 75. his manner of writing Prefaces, Note [t] 76. encouraged by good news from Rome, he drops the purfuit of his voyage, 78. has an interview with Brutus, 79. and arrives at Rome, 80. delivers the first of his Philippics, 82. retires to Naples; composes his second Philippic, 87. consents to support Octavius, on certain conditions, 92. finishes his Book of Offices, 95. writes his Stoical Paradoxes, ib. comes back to Rome, upon Antony's leaving it, 98. speaks his third Philippic, 100. his fourth, 103. publishes his second Philippic, ibid. fpeaks his fifth, 107. called for by the people, to give them an account of the deliberations of the Senate, 116. fpeaks his fixth Philippic, 116. his feventh, 119. opposed by Calenus, in all his motions against Antony; procures a decree to put on the Sagum, or habit of war, 124. speaks his eighth Philippic, 125. his ninth, 129. his tenth, 136. his eleventh, 148. his statue of Minerva, dedicated in the Capitol, struck by lightening, and repaired by the Senate, 156. speaks his twelfth Philippic, 157. his thirteenth, 168. his noble struggle in defence of the Republic Liberty, 178. his pains to engage Lepidus, Pollio, and Plancus, in the same cause, ibid. mortifies Servilius in the Senate, 188. disturbed by a -report of his defigning to make himself Master of the City, 192. carried in triumph to the Capitol, on the news of Antony's defeat, 197, speaks his 14th Philippic, 198. presses Brutus to come into Italy, 210. decrees an Ovation to Octavius, with public honors to Hirtius, Pansa, Aquila, &c. 211. expostulates with D. Brutus on Antony's escape, 214. blames M. Brutus's clemency to C. Antony, 177, 218. utterly averse to the Confulship of Octavius, 236. presses Brutus and Cassius to hasten to Italy, 243. his conduct from the time of Cæsar's death vindicated, and compared with Brutus's, 250, 270. his own account of it in a Letter to Brutus, 255. cleared from a calumny, intimated in a Letter of Brutus, Note [e] 270. proscribed by the Triumvirate, 274. might have escaped into Macedonia, ib. had early notice of his danger; embarks at Astura, 278. preferred death to the fatigues of camps and the fea; forced by his flaves to attempt a flight; overtaken by

his pursuers, 280. orders his slaves not to resist, ibid. meets his death with the greatest firmness; his head and hands cut off, and placed upon the Rostra, 281. the fpot, where he fell, visited by Travellers, 283. why Virgil and Horace make no mention of him, ibid. Livy's character of him, and Augustus's, 285. leius's encomium of him, ibid. all the succeeding writers vie with each other in praising him, ibid. of his perfon, and care of his health, 286, his cloaths and drefs, 287. his domestic and social character, ibid. his high notions of friendship; of gratitude, 288. of placability to enemies, 289. his splendid manner of living, 290. his gay and sprightly temper, 291. thought to affect raillery too much, 292. as famous for wit, as for eloquence, ibid. a collection of his fayings published by Trebonius, ibid. a more copious one by Tiro, after his death, 293. an account of the number, fituation and condition of his feveral Villa's, 294. an Epigram on his Academy, or Puteolan Villa, 297. his furniture rich and elegant; a cedar table of his remaining in Pliny's time, 298. the source of his great wealth, 299. his moral character unblemished; he had no intrigues with the Ladies, 301, 302. was thought too fanguin in prosperity, desponding in adversity, 303. the love of glory his chief passion, 304. the nature of that passion explaned and vindicated, ibid. his great learning in every branch of science, 310. his works the most precious remains of Antiquity, 311. his industry incredible, ib. a character of his Letters; familiar, jocofe, political, recommendatory, 312. preferable to the Letters of all who lived after him; compared particularly with Pliny's, 316. his historical works loft, 317. his plan for a general History, ibid. no remains of his Poetry, but some scattered fragments, 318. these shew a genius, ibid. a character of his eloquence, 320, compared with that of Demosthenes, 321. and that of his contemporaries, who pretended to an Attic taste, 322. his Philofophy drawn from the Academy, 325. an account of it, as explaned by himself, 329, a judgment on a various reading in his Treatife on the nature of the Gods, Note [s] 330. he became a convert to the New Academy, 333. the difficulty of discovering his real fentiments stated, 335. why they are not to be sought in his Orations, 336, which yet are good testimonies of facts.

facts, Note [i] 337. his Letters lay open his heart, but with some exceptions, ibid. his Philosophical works give a hiftory of the ancient Philosophy, 338. the key to his proper fentiments, 339. he has declared no precife opinions in natural Philosophy, ibid. yet was acquainted with some of the fundamental principles of it, which pass for the discoveries of modern ages, 340, he believed a God; a Providence; the Immortality of the Soul; and a future state of rewards and punishments, 341, 342. his opinion of the Religion of Rome confidered, 344, 345. an observation of Polybius upon it, Note [z] ibid. his own religion divine, 349. he deduced the origin of duty, moral obligation, and the eternal difference of good and ill, from the will of God, 350, &c. his fystem of religion and morality, contained in his books on government, on laws, and on offices, 353, 354. the nobleft fystem ever published to the Heathen world, ibid. an objection to his belief of it stated and answered, ibid. &c. his rule of following nature explaned, Note [s] 355. his political principles and conduct illustrated, 357, &c. compared with Cato's, 360, 365. with Atticus's, 362. his rule of managing the men of power, 363, &c. his true principles always displayed themselves, when he was at liberty to exert them, 365. his death violent, but not untimely, ibid. what he feems to have wished, 366. the last act of his life glorious. ibid.

Cicero, the Son, invested with the manly gown at Arpinum, II. 272. carried by his Father to Pompey's camp, 292. commands a wing of Pompey's horse, 305. sent to Athens to study under Cratippus, 364. much commended and beloved by Brutus, III. 142. entrusted with the command of his horse in Macedonia, 143. defeats C. Antony, and takes him prisoner, 174. his character injuriously treated by posterity, 366. a true account of it, and a summary view of his life. 367, &c.

Cicero, 2. attends his Brother into Cilicia, as one of his Lieutenants, II, 169. refolves to follow him into Pompey's camp, 291. obtains pardon from Cæsar, 308. reviles his Brother in his Letters and Speeches to Cæsar's friends, 309. gives a disadvantageous character of the Consuls, Pansa and Hirtius, III. 207. is proscribed by the Triumvirate, 278. conceals himself in Rome, but is discovered and killed, together with his Son. 377 Cicero,

Cicero, Q. the Son, gives information to Cæsar of his Uncle's disaffection to him, II. 273. makes an Oration against his Uncle, 309. abuses both the Uncle and his Father, to please Cæsar's friends, 397. deserts Antony, and is reconciled to his Father and Uncle, III. 72. is presented to Brutus, 73. undertakes to accuse Antony to the people, ibid. is abused by Antony in his Edicts, 96. is proscribed; taken in Rome, and killed with his Father.

Cincius, M. Trib. his law prohibiting Patrons to take money or presents from their Clients.

I. 59

Cinna, the Conful, driven out of Rome, and deposed by his Collegue Octavius; recalls Marius, enters Rome with a superior force, and puts all his enemies to the sword, I. 24. killed in a mutiny of his soldiers.

Cinna, L. Cornelius, Prætor, applauds the act of killing Cæfar, in a speech to the people, III. 8. in danger of his life from Cæfar's veteran soldiers. ibid.

Cinna, Helvius, Tribun, mistaken for L. Cornelius Cinna, and torn to pieces by the rabble.

Cispius, Tribun, beaten by Clodius.

I. 406

Civic Crown, what, &c. I. 50

Claffical writers, why so called.

Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, flies from Rome upon the death of Cæsar, III. 22. her conference there with Cicero.

Clodius, P. his character, I. 261, profanes the mysteries of the Bona Dea, 262. his trial for it, 264. becomes a declared enemy to Cicero, 269. his project to get himfelf chosen Tribun, by the means of an Adoption, 291. the law of his adoption carried by the affiftance of Cæfar and Pompey, 304. his pretended quarrel with Cæfar, 310, is elected a Tribun, and threatens Cicero, 328. promifes Pompey to be at his devotion, 330. does not fuffer Bibulus to speak to the people on laying down the Consulship, 332, bargains with Piso and Gabinius to oppress Cicero, 336. endeavours to gain the people by popular laws, 339. infults Cicero, 340. produces the Consuls to give their opinion on Cicero's Consulthip, 345, repeals the Ælian and Fusian laws, 346. publishes a law for Cicero's banishment, 354. demolishes Cicero's houses, 357. persecutes his wife and children, 358, poisons Q. Seius Posthumus, for resusing to tell his house to him, 359. procures a law to depose Ptolemy,

e

Ptolemy, King of Cyprus; charges Cato with the execution of it, 364, 365. is congratulated upon it by Cæfar, 366. affronts Pompey by feizing Tigranes his prisoner, 382. forms a plot against Pompey's life, 384. attacks the Triumvirate and Gabinius, 400. drives Fabricius and Cispius the Tribuns out of the Forum, with great flaughter, 406, &c. impeached by Milo, screened by Metellus, 408. endeavours to raise fresh tumults against Cicero, II. 5. opposes the restitution of his Palatin house, 19. commits great outrages against Cicero and Milo, 22. chosen Ædile, 35. impeaches Milo, 37. applies the answer of the Haruspices to the case of Cicero, 50. impeaches the Tribuns Suffenas, C. Cato, and Procilius, 113. killed by Milo. Clodius, Sext. tried and banished for his violences at Clodius's funeral. 11. 158 Confuls; the method of chusing them, I. 153 Cornelius, C. Trib. raises great disorders in the city by the publication of new laws, I. 129. accused for practices against the state, defended by Cicero. Cornificius, Proconsul of Afric, continued firm to the cause of liberty. III. 186 Corradus Seb. his Life of Cicero, what, Pref. xxvii Cotta, an Orator of the first character, I. 39. his way of speaking, 58. obtains the Consulship, 60. moves the Senate to recall Cicero. Crassus, L. the first Orator of his time, directed the me-I. 9 thod of Cicero's education. Crassus, M. obtains the decree of an Ovation and laurel crown, for putting an end to the Servile war, I. 73. his riches and manner of raising them, 77. chosen Conful with Pompey, 78. supposed to be in a conspiracy with Catiline, Cæsar, &c. supports Piso against Pompey, 136. accused of a correspondence with Catiline, 255. corrupts the Judges in Clodius's trial, 266. discomposes Pompey by praising Cicero's acts, 275. prepares for his Eastern Expedition, in defiance of the Auspices, II. 84. reconciled to Cicero, 86. his death. 137.

Crassus, P. the Son; his death and character,

Athens.

Brutus.

Cratippus, the Peripatetic, Præceptor to young Cicero at

Cremutius, Cordus, put to death by Tiberius, for praising

1. 139

111. 285 Grete,

II. 346. III. 367, 370

사용 사람들은 경기 위에 자꾸 아니는 이 경기를 가장 하면 함께 되었다. 그는 사람들이 되었다면 하는 사람들이 되었다면 하는데
Crete, subjected to the Romans. I. 72
Crown, Laurel, the ornament of a Triumph. I. 73 Myrtle, of an Ovation. ibid.
Curio, C. Scribonius, Consul, an Orator of a peculiar
action and manner of speaking. I. 63
Curio, the Son, the most active opposer of the Trium-
virate, I. 321. clears himself from the charge of a plot,
325. enters into a correspondence of Letters with Ci-
cero; his character. II. 136 Curio obtains the Tribunate; changes his party, and de-
clares for Cæsar, II. 218. flies to Cæsar's camp, 235.
 drives Cato out of Sicily; is destroyed with his whole
army in Afric, 319. his character. ibid.
Curius, one of Catiline's conspirators, discovers their counsils to Cicero by Fulvia his Mistress, I. 114. ac-
cuses Cæsar, and claims the reward decreed to the first
discoverer of the plot.
CONTRACTOR OF THE PROPERTY OF
D'Amasippus, Prætor of the city, kills the principal Se-
Decemviri; the guardians of the Sibylline Books; who.
III. 346
Deiotarus, King of Galatia; a faithful Ally of Rome;
prepares to join with Cicero against the Parthians, II.
182. deprived of part of his dominions by Cæfar, 407.
accused of a design against Cæsar's life, ibid. desended by Brutus, and by Cicero, ibid. purchased his domi-
nions again of Antony. III. 47
nions again of Antony. Demetrius, master of Rhetoric to Cicero at Athens. I. 44
Distatorship, some account of that office. I. 34
Dio Cassius; the grounds of his malignity to Cicero. Pref.
Diodotus, a Stoic; lived with Cicero. I. 29
Dionysius, of Magnesia, a famed Rhetorician, attended
Cicero in his travels.
Dionysius, Tutor to the two young Cicero's. II. 200 Divination; artificial and natural; what. III. 347, 348
Divination, a speech of Cicero so called; why. I. 86.
Divorce; a custom mentioned on that occasion. II. 332,
Note [k]
Dolabella, P. Cornelius; his character; marries Cicero's
daughter, II. 208. impeaches Appius, 209. follicits Cicero to desert Pompey, 298. raises great tumults in
Rome, 310. is divorced from Tullia. 311. makes a
Vol. III. Dd fpeech

fpeech in the Senate against Antony, 413. assumes the Consulship upon Cæsar's death, III. 25. demolishes the Altar erected to Cæsar; and acts vigorously on the side of liberty, 26. bribed by Antony to subvert the Republic, 49. leaves the City, to get possession of Syria against Cassus, 145. surprizes Smyrna by stratagem, and puts Trebonius to death, 147. is declared a public enemy, ibid. pursued and deseated by Cassus; kills himself. 222 Domitius, taken and dismissed by Cæsar at Corsinium. II.250 Drusus, the Tribun, assassinated.

FLeusinian mysteries, I. 44. some account of them, Note [] 45 Emperor; the fignification of that title. Note [1] I. 251 Epicureans, their reverence for the ruins of Epicurus's walls, II. 173. many of them highly efteemed by Cicero, 174. the greatest part of the Nobility, and of Cicero's friends, of that fect. Note [t] 412 Episcopus; a remark on the use of that name. Note [i] II. 242 Equestrian dignity, or the order of Knights, what it was, Note [h] I. 3. the judgement of causes taken from them, and reftored to the Senate, 34. recover their right of Judicature, 115. obtain distinct seats in the Theatres, by Otho's law. Erana, the Capital of Amanus; makes a stout defence against Cicero. Evocati, what they were. Note [x] III. 194 CAbia, fister to Cicero's wife Terentia; one of the

Vestal Virgins; tried for incest with Catiline, and acquitted.

I. 153.

Fabius, 2, chosen Consul by Cæsar, II. 405. triumphs, 410. his death.

Fabricius, Franc. his life of Cicero, what. Pref. xxviii Fabricius, the Tribun, driven out of the Forum by Clodius.

I. 406

Fathers, Latin, made great use of Cicero's writings.

Note [c] II. 391

Favonius, the mimic of Cato.

II. 197

Favonius, the mimic of Cato.

II. 197

Fever, pleuretic, the common diffemper of ancient and modern Rome.

Note [g] I. 25

Fibrenus, a little river, running thro' Cicero's effate. I.5

Flaccus,

Flaceus, L. Valerius, accused of male-administration, defended by Cicero. I. 313 Flaceus M. Lenius, entertains Cicero in his exil. I. 371 Flavius, the Tribun, commits the Conful Metellus to prison. 1. 286 Forum, the great Square of Rome. I. 18 Abinius, A. Tribun, proposes a law to grant an extraordinary commission to Pompey, I. 124. is chosen Conful, 335. combines with Clodius to oppress Cicero. 336. his character, 338. rejects the petition of the Knights in favor of Cicero; banishes L. Lamia for his zeal in Cicero's fervice. 342. braggs of having been the favorite of Catiline, 357. fights for Pompey against Clodius, 384. goes to his Province of Syria, 403. fends an account of his victory over Aristobulus, but is refused the honor of a thanksgiving, II. 57. recalled from his Province by the Senate, 64. restores King Ptolemy, 75. returns to Rome, is impeached of treason, &c. 116. is defended by Cicero. Gallius, 2. defended by Cicero. I. 150 Gaul Narbonese, the general character of that people by Cicero. Gellius, L. and Cn. Lentulus, exercise the office of Cenfors with rigor. Gnipho, a celebrated Rhetorician, kept a school in Rome. 1.137 Gracehi, faid to derive their eloquence from their mother Cornelia. 1. 10 Greeks, the best Masters of Eloquence. I. 11 Greek learning, in great vogue at Rome. I. 36 Greek writers, to be read with caution on Roman affairs. Pref. xxiii Adrian died in Cicero's Puteolan Villa. Note, III. 297 Haruspices, their answer concerning certain prodigies, II. 58. their office and character. Helvia, Cicero's mother; rich, and well descended; never once mentioned by Cicero; a story told of her by Quintus. Hermathena, and Hermeracla, what fort of figures. I. 143 Herophilus; an Impostor, pretending to be the Grandson of C. Marius; bamished by Cæsar, H. 388. put to III. 19. death by Antony.

Dd 2

Hirtius

보이다. 이렇게 되어 가게 되었는데 하지만 아니라 얼마 하는데 생각이 되었다. 그렇게 되었는데 얼마 없는데 얼마 없는데 얼마 없었다.	
Hirtius writes against Cicero's Cato, II. 345. sends Cicero an account of Cæsar's success in Spain, 396. defends Cicero against his Nephew Quintus, 397. marches with his army against Antony, III. 121. gains a confiderable victory over him, 196. totally routs him in a second engagement, in which he himself was killed, 204. his character. 208 History, of the Lives of Great men, the most entertaining, Pres. xv. a plan for a general History, drawn by Cicero, Pres. xix. the Author's method of compiling the present History, Pres. xx. a general rule of writing it.	
Horace, a passage in him illustrated. Note [p] II. 104	
Hortensius, the reigning Orator at the bar; a volunteer in	1,
the Marsic war; commands a Regiment, I. 19. raise	S
Cicero's emulation, 29. his way of speaking, 58. cal-	-
led the Player, for his Theatrical action, 79. the King	7
of the Forum, 85. opposes the Gabinian law, 125. suf-	?
pected by Cicero of treachery towards him, 360. hi	0
death and character. II. 222	3
[1] : (
Hypfaus, impeached of bribery, and treated with inhumani	-
ty by Pompey. II. 15	9
1.	
I Dolatry, one of its fources intimated. Note [f] II. 379 Ferufalem, befieged and taken by Pompey. I. 279 Fews, their number and credit at Rome, I. 316. zealoufly attached to Cæsar; hated Pompey for his affront to their	2 y
Temple. III. 10	6
Inter-rex, what fort of Magistrate. II. 13:	
Interregnum, the longest ever known in Rome. II. 13	
Juba, King, supports the Pompeians in Afric. II. 39	
Fulla Conform doughter and Dompor's wife dies in	
Julia, Cæsar's daughter, and Pompey's wife, dies in	
Childbed; the unhappy consequences of her death. II. 12	
K Alendar, Roman, reformed by Cæfar. Note [m] II. 29	0
L.	
Lalia, the wife of Scavola, the Augur; eminent for he elegance of speaking. Lalia, T. Tribun, suborned by Cæsar, to accuse C Rabirius, I. 171. opens Cæsar's way to the Hig Priesthood, 175. one of Cæsar's Lieutenants, revolts to Pompey. II. 24 Lælia, the wife of Scævola, the Augur; eminent for he elegance of speaking. I. 3	h co
Late	

Laterensis, Lieutenant to Lepidus, informs Plancus of his treachery, III. 227. lays violent hands upon himself. 228 Law, raised it's professors to the highest honors, I. 14. Cincian, 59. Gabinian, 124. of L. Otho, 128. Calpurnian, 129. Manilian, 132. Papian, 146. Ælian and Fusian.

346
Laws; some new ones occasion disturbances in the City, I. 124. two proposed by Cicero.

Legacies, usually bequeathed by Clients to their Patrons. III. 300

Legatio libera, what.

Lentulus, one of Catiline's conspirators, I. 180. his character, 181. strangled in prison.

Lentulus, P. Cornelius, Consul moves the Senate for the restoration of Cicero, I. 386. the chief promoter of Cicero's return, II. 3. ambitious of the commission of replacing King Ptolemy, 28. leaves his affairs to Cicero, and sets out for Cilicia, 31. lays aside the thoughts of restoring Ptolemy, ibid. taken at Corsinium, and dismissed by Cæsar.

Lepidus, M. enters into a civil war against his Collegue Q. Catulus, I. 54, 55. managed by Antony; seizes the High-Priesthood after Cæsar's death, III. 9. offers honorable terms to S. Pompey, 10. writes to the Senate to exhort them to a peace with Antony, 167. suspected of a secret understanding with him, ibid. excuses his sending succours to him, 212. acts a treacherous part with Plancus, and joins camps with Antony, 226. declared a public enemy, 230. forms the league of the second Triumvirate with Cæsar and Antony, 272. proscribes his own Brother, in exchange for Cicero, 276. a weak man; the dupe of his two Collegues; deserted his true interest; stript of his dignity by Octavius.

Letters of Cicero to Atticus, I. 124, 143, 146, 279, 397. II. 169, 185, 188, 192, 194, 199, 202, 204, 220, 221, 227, 228, 231, 234, 239, 244, 251, 255, 262, 267, 271, 283, 287, 312, 323, 331, 344, 364, 368, 379, 396, 397, 399, ibid. 404, 409. III. 4, 23, 26, 30, 35, 38, 47, 54, 61, 62, 64, 65, 67, 72, 73, 79, 92, 93, 98. to Q. Metellus Celer. I. 246. to Pompey, 251. to Terentia, 388. to Gallus, II. 26. to Lentulus. 50, 122. to Lucceius, 68. to M. Marius, 81. to J. Cæsar, 98. to Q. Cicero, 118. to Curio, 137, 143. to Marius, Dd 3

us, 160. to Memmius, 174. to Trebatius, ibid. to M. Calius, 178, 216. to Cato, 184. to Papirius Pætus, 195, 334, 335, 338, 339, 342. to Appius, 206. to Curio, 217. to Tiro, 227. to Pompey, 257. to Cæfar, 265, 309. to Varro, 326. 329, 340. to Plancus, 332. to Ampius, 341. to Serv. Sulpicius, 349, 373. to Ligarius, 257. to Caffius, 402. III. 86, 90, 125, 155, 247. to Curius, II. 411. to Dolabella, III. 27. to Matius, 40. to Lepidus, 172. to Plancus, 173, 179, 180. to M. Brutus, 145, 174, 176, 187, 210, 218, 219, 231, 236, 243, 244, 255. to D. Brutus, 214, 224, 240. to Cornificius, 249. of M. Cælius to Cicero, II. 176, 211, 276, 299. of Cato to Cicero, 198. of Pompey to Domitius, 250. to Cicero, 257. of Cafar to Cicero, 256, 265, 274. of Balbus to Cicero, 263, 269. of Balbus and Oppius to Cicero, 268. of Antony to Cicero, 275. 281. III. 20. to Hirtius and Octavius, II. 164. of Dolabella to Cicero, 291. of Serv. Sulpicius to Cicero, 369, 383. of Cassius to Cicero, 396. III. 189. of Matius to Cicero, 41. of Brutus and Caffius to M. Antony, 50, 88. of Hirtius to Cicero, 59. of M. Brutus to the Confuls, 135. to Cicero, 141, 233, 263. of Plancus to Cicero, 183, 213, 225, 227, 228. of Pollio to Cicero, 184, 210. of Galba to Cicero, 194. of Lepidus to Cicero, 212. and to the Senate, 228. of D. Brutus to Cicero, 215, 223, 239. of Trebonius to Cicero, 55, 368. of Cicero, the Son, to Tiro, 369. Letters of Cicero to Atticus, the memoirs of those times. Pref. xx.

Ligarius, pardoned by Cæsar, II. 359. his character. 362
Livy, called a Pompeian by Augustus.

Lill. 284
Lollius, M. one of the chiefs in Clodius's mob.

II. 68. undertakes the life of Cicero.

dertakes the life of Cicero.

Lucullus, L. deseats the violences of the Tribun, L. Quincius, I. 70. obtains the command of the Mithridatic war, 72. drives Mithridates out of the kingdom of Pontus, and gains many glorious victories, 133. his foldiers mutiny against him, ibid. he triumphs; retires from public affairs; his character.

238

from public affairs; his character.

Luperci, instituted in honor of Cæsar.

Lupus, Tribun, proposes the annulling of Cæsar's act for the division of the Campanian lands.

II. 29

Lustrical day; what it was.

I. 6

Lyceum,

Lyceum, a Gymnasium a his School.	t Athens where	Aristotle opened III. 327
A PART OF THE PART	M.	Service Bulletin
MAcer, L. accused o	f oppression, an	d condemned by I. 131
Mammura, commander eter.	of Cæfar's arti	llery, his chara- Note [l] III. 408
Manilius, Trib. raises law, publishes a law,	to transfer the	command of the
Mithridatic war from cufed of corruption, a	nd defended by	Cicero. 137
Manlius, raises an army declared a public enem	y.	197
Monly gown, at what ag	ge given, &c.	I. 13
Marcellinus, Conful, a treats Pompey roughl		
the City with the dan		
Marcellus, M. Conful,		
Senate for feveral dec		
ed by Cæsar, after th	ne battel of Phari	falia, 349. stabbed
by his friend, and clie	nt Magius, 383.	his character, 385
Marcellus, C. Conful,		
posed by Paullus his		
	de la	II. 218
Marius, his behaviour	in the Marfic v	var, I. 20. endea-
vours to get the comm		
ferred from Sylla to	himself; force	ed to fly; plunges
himself into the Ma	arshes, where h	e is discovered and
preserved by the peop	le of Minturnun	n; transports him-
felf to Afric, 13. the	e story of the G	allic foldier fent to
kill him, thought fa	abutous, Note ib	id. is recalled and
enters Rome; exerci	ses great crueltie	es, 24. his death
and character, 25.	his remains thre	Service and the service of the servi
Anio by Sylla.	and in Dumpal	53
Marius, the Son, befind his own life.	eged in Trænen	I. 31
Marsic war, called the	e Italic and So	
Marullus and Cæsetius	, deposed the T	
Matius, an intimate	friend of Cafar	
		nent of Octavius's
shews, in honour of		
in a Letter to Cicero	o, 41. his chara	cter. · Note [k] 45

Memmius, C. informs the Senate of a strange contract among the Consular Candidates. II. 108
Menippus, of Stratonica, an Asiatic Orator, accompanies Cicero in his travels. I. 46
Merula, of Anagnia, erects a statue to Clodius. I. 367
Meffala, P. Valerius, his character. Note [i] III. 256
Metellus subdues Crete, I. 72. baffled by Sertorius, 74. hinders the people from passing judgement on Rabirius.
with the standard and main as on the standard a 174
Metellus, Q. Nepos, Tribun, will not suffer Cicero to
speak to the people, on laying down the Consulship,
I. 241. supported by Cæsar against Cicero, 243. sus-
pended from his office, 245. flies to Pompey, 246. e-
lected Conful, promifes to promote Cicero's restoration,
386. acts a double part, 414. confents at last to Cicero's
return, ibid. attacked by Clodius's mob, II. 6. endea- vours to screen Clodius from a trial, 24. makes his peace
with Cicero, and fets out for Spain, 31. endeavours to
hinder Cæfar from feizing the publick Treasure.
tolder our illand la tored out again, the II, 1280
Metellus, 2. Cacilius, Consul, his character, 284. com-
mitted to prison by Flavius the Tribun, 286. declares
his abhorrence of Clodius's adoption, 292, dies fuddenly,
supposed to be poisoned.
Mile, Tribun, impeaches Clodius, I, 408. buys Gladiators
to defend himself against him, 409. endeavours to bring
him to a trial, II. 24. is impeached by him, 37. mar-
ries Fausta, the Daughter of Sylla, 90. kills Clodius,
146. is defended by Cicero, 152. banished, 156. his
death and character.
Mithridates, King of Pontus, his character; makes war
upon the Romans, I. 22. conquers Athens, 23. treats M. Aquilius with cruelty, 50. renews the war against
Rome, 72. driven out of his Kingdom of Pontus, 133.
his death
his death. Mitylene, a city of Lesbos, destroyed by Q. Thermus,
restored by Pompey. I. 50
Modena; sustained a memorable siege against Antony.
III. 204
Molo, the Rhodian, a celebrated teacher of eloquence
gives lectures to Cicero, I. 28. the first who was ever
permitted to speak to the Roman Senate in Greek. 35
Mongault, Mr. his translation of the Letters to Atticus
commended. Pref. xxx
Mucia,

The INDEX. Mucia, the wife of L. Crassus, famous for a delicacy in the Latin tongue. Murena L. Conful elect, accused of bribery, defended by Cicero. TAmes of Roman families, an account of their origin. I.6 Ninnius, L. Tribun, moves the Senate to change their habit on Cicero's account, I. 341. makes a motion to recal him. Nomenclators : their office. Bsidional Crown, what. Octavian war. Octavius, called afterwards Augustus, born in Cicero's Consulship, I. 240. presented to Cicero by Hirtius and Pansa, III. 37. resolves to affert his rights against the advice of his Mother, ibid. makes a speech to the people from the Rostra, 38. exhibits public shews in honour of his Uncle, 39. thwarted in his pretentions by Antony, 62, forms a defign against Antony's life, 89. raifes forces, and promifes to be govern'd by Cicero, 92. espoused by the Senate upon the recommendation of Cicero, 114. marches out at the head of his ar-

my against Antony, 122. gains a complete victory over him, 205. suspected of the deaths of Hirtius and Pansa, 209. has an Ovation decreed to him, 211, forms the defign of feizing the Empire, 214. demands the Consulship, 235. chosen Consul with Q. Pedius, 237. seeks occafions of quarelling with the Senate and Cicero, 238. provides a law to bring to justice all the conspirators against Cæsar, 242. forms the league of the second Triumvirate with Antony and Lepidus, 272. his reluctance to facrifice Cicero, feigned and artificial, 275. more cruel than his Collegues; a fummary view of his conduct from the time of Cæsar's death. Ostavius, Cn. deposes Cinna, and is killed. I. 24 Orator; his profession what, I. 15. not mercenary; paid with the public honors and preferments. I. 59 Oratory of Rome funk with it's liberty, III. 324. a false species of it supported by the authority of Pliny. ibid. Oratory and Poetry nearly allied. III. 318

Orestinus, L. Mucius, the Tribun, hinders the promulgation of a law against bribery, I. 150. joins with the enemies of Cicero, after having been defended by him. ib.

Ofaces,

Ofaces, the Parthian Leader, mortally wounded. I. 191 Otho, L. publishes a law for affigning separate seats in the Theaters to the Knights, I. 128. his appearance in the Theater occasions a riot.

Anfa, Conful, brought intirely into Cicero's views. III. 106. lays Brutus's Letters before the Senate. 135. opposes Cicero's motion in favor of C. Cassius. 154. recommends pacific measures, and a second Embaffy to Antony, 157. marches with his army against Antony, 163. engages with him, 194. his death and character. 205, 206 Papirius Pætus, an eminent wit and correspondent of Ci-11. 195 Papius, C. publishes a law to oblige all strangers to quit the City. I. 146 Parthians pass the Euphrates, II. 181. block up C. Cassius in Antioch, but are routed by him in their retreat. 191 Patricians, the proper notions of them. Note [b] I. 149 Paullus, L. Emilius, Conful, bribed by Cæfar. II. 218 Pedius, 2: Conful, shocked by the terrors of the proscription dies suddenly. III. 274 Peripateties, why so called; their doctrines the same with those of the old Academy. III. 327. Perperna, Lieutenant to Sertorius; whom he kills by treachery, and usurps his place; is taken prisoner, and put to death by Pompey. Petreius, urges Antony to fight with Catiline; destroys Catiline and his whole army. 1. 234 Phadrus, the Epicurean; one of Cicero's first masters in Philosophy. Philippus, fent Embassador to Antony, III. 115. returns with Antony's answer. Phila, an eminent Academic, mafter to Cicero. 1. 28 II. 194 Pindenissum besieged and taken by Cicero. Pifidians, famous for divining by Auspices. Note [f] III. on only Piso, Cn. obtains the government of Spain, enters into an engagement against the state with Cæfar, is killed. I. 139 Pife, C. defended by Cicero and acquitted. 1. 206 Pife, M. Puppius, Conful, a favorer of P. Clodius, his 1, 269 character. Pife, L. Calpurnius, elected conful; Father-in-law to Cæfar; gives Cicero marks of his confidence, I. 335, joins

with Clodius against him; his character, 336. is soll-cited by Cicero to espouse his cause, but excuses himself, 341. declares his resolution to support Clodius, 349. boasts that he was cousin to Cethegus, 357. fights for Clodius against Pompey, 385. obtains the Province of Macedonia, 403. recalled from it by the Senate. II. 64. returns to Rome, 75. roughly treated by Cicero in an invective speech, 77. chosen Censor with Appius, 210. sent Embassador to Antony. III. 115. returns, 122.

Pifo, Cicero's fon in law, zealoufly devoted to him, I. 391 his death and character. 420

Pifo, Cn. a young nobleman, charges Pompey with many crimes against the state.

II. 71

Plancius, Cn. Quæstor of Macedonia, receives Cicero at Dyrrhachium, and conducts him to Thessalonica, I. 374. is defended by him.

II. 115

Plancus, Proconful of Gaul, recommends a peace with Antony, III. 173. makes strong professions of his sidelity to the Republic, 179. passes the Rhone with his army, 184. sends repeated assurances to Cicero of his resolution to oppress Antony, 213. receives intelligence of Lepidus's treachery, 227. joins with D. Brutus, 228. deserts him, and goes over to Lepidus and Antony. 241

Plate, the first Master of the Academy, did not adhere to the Socratic method, which his followers deserted.

Ш. 327

Pliny, his Letters compared with Cicero's, III. 316. his Panegyric falfely reckon'd the standard of eloquence.

Plotius, first opened a Latin school at Rome. I. 11

Plutarch mentions some prodigies at Cicero's birth, I. 1.

loves to introduce them into History, 2. a character of him as a writer on Roman affairs—

Pref. xxiii.

Pollio promises Cicero to desend the liberty of the Republic, III. 184. repeats the same promises, 213. joins with Antony and Lepidus.

Pompeius, Cn. Strabo, Consul, Father of Pompey the great.

I. 19

Pompeius, Cn. joins Sylla with three legions, I. 30. fends Carbo's head to Sylla, 31. returns victorious from Afric; faluted by Sylla with the Title of Magnus; demands a triumph against Sylla's will; triumphs to the joy of the people; the first of the Equestrian order, who had received that honor; his triumphal Car drawn by Elephants,

phants, 49. joins with Q. Catulus in the war against M. Lepidus; orders M. Brutus to be killed, 55. joined with Q. Metellus in the war against Sertorius, 74, orders Perperna to be killed, and his papers to be burnt; triumphs a fecond time, though still a private Citizen: is elected Conful in his absence, and before the Consular age, 76. restores the Tribunician power, 115, a great dissembler, 126, finishes the war against the Pirates in four months, 127. obtains the command of the Mithridatic war, by the Manilian law, 134. finishes the Piratic and Mithridatic wars, and obtains a Thanksgiving of ten days, 239. returns to Rome, flights the opportunity of making himself Master of the Republic, 271. an account of his conquests and honors, 272. his cautious behaviour, 274. called in raillery, Cnæus Cicero; makes L. Afranius Conful, against the inclination of the City, 276. his triumph, 278. follicits the ratification of his acts, and an Agrarian law, 285. fecretly affifts Clodius against Cicero, 201. enters into a league with Cæfar and Craffus, 298. presides at the ratification of Clodius's adoption, 304. loses the affections of the public, 320. his mistaken policy in entering into the Triumvirate, 323. gives Cicero the strongest assurances of his protection, 331. is admonished to guard against Cicero, retires to his Alban Villa, 347. receives Cicero's friends coldly, who came to implore his protection, 348. refuses his affiftance to Cicero himself, 349. is insulted by Clodius; thinks of recalling Cicero, 383. shuts himself up in his house, 384. is befieged by Damio, one of Clodius's freedmen, ibid. proposes to recal Cicero by a law of the people, 404. renews the fame motion in the Senate, 413. recommends it to the people, 416. has the administration of the corn and provisions of the Empire granted to him at Cicero's motion, II. 8. is defirous to obtain the Commission for restoring King Ptolemy, 33. speaks in defence of Milo, 38. is roughly handled by Bibulus, Curio, Favonius, and C. Cato; joins with Cicero against them, 40. reconciled to Crassus by Cæfar, and extorts the Confulship from L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, 70. opens his new Theater, 78. and exhibits most magnificent shews in it, 80. urges Cicero to defend Gabinius. 120. concerned for the death of his wife Julia, 128. declared the fingle Conful, and publishes se-

veral new laws, 148, 149, ruins Milo, 150, marries Cornelia, preserves Scipio from an impeachment, treats Hypfæus with inhumanity, 150, defends Burfa, ibid. prepares an inscription for his Temple of Venus, 162. ready to break with Cæsar, 165. extorts large sums from King Ariobarzanes, 185. his constitution peculiarly subject to fevers, 222. was publicly prayed for by all the Towns of Italy, ibid. confers with Cicero, 231, 232. averse to an accommodation with Cæsar, 233. fecures Cæfar's Gladiators at Capua, 242. diffembles his defign of quitting Italy, 248, his mistake in leaving the public treasure at Rome a prey to Cæsar, 279. his management censured by Cicero, 291, 295. the difficult part which he had to act, 301. his conduct compared with Cæsar's, 303. is defeated at Pharsalia, 305. his death and character.

Pompey, the Son, attempts to kill Cicero, II. 305. Sextus and Cnæus put to flight by Cæsar, 396. Sextus sends proposals of an accommodation to the Consuls. III. 69

Pontinius, C. triumphs over the Allobroges. II. 130 Popilius, Lænas, preserved by Cicero in a capital cause, is sent by Antony to kill him, III. 280. he cuts off his head and hands; carries them to Antony, and is rewarded for it.

Porcia, Cato's daughter; Bibulus's widow; married to Brutus, II. 282. dies before him of a lingring illness.

Posidonius, a learned Stoic, master and friend of Cicero, I. 46. a resection on the story of his stoical fortitude.

Note [e] ib.

Prætorship, some account of it.

Priests, called together to determin the affair of Cicero's house, II. 12. the Judges in all cases relating to Religion; of the first Nobility.

III. 346

Procilius, Tribun, condemned for killing a Citizen. II. 112
Prodigies, that preceded Catiline's conspiracy, II. 148. a
statue of Romulus and Remus struck with lightning;
Cicero's and Virgil's description of it, Note ibid. the
story of a prodigy contrived by Cicero and Terentia,
217. prodigies preceding the death of Cæsar. III. 429

Profeription of Citizens, first invented by Sylla. I. 32
Provinces, the government of them eagerly defired by the
Nobility, II. 166. their oppressive manner of governing them. ibid.

Ptolemy,

The INDEX.

Ptolemy, King of Cyprus, deposed by Clodius's law,	puts an
end to his life.	I. 366
Ptolemy, King of Egypt, follicits to be restored	to his
kingdom by a Roman army.	II. 28
Putcoli, the most celebrated port of Italy.	I. 69

Q.

Quafters; the nature of the off the public honors; gives an	fice; the first step to admission into the Se-
- nate. Quinctius, L. a turbulent Tribun,	I. 60, 82
acts of Sylla reversed. Quinctius, P. desended by Cicero.	I. 70 I. 38

R.

RAbirius, C. accused by T. Labienus, I. 1 by Cicero.	70. defended
Rabirius, Postbumus, defended by Cicero.	II. 125
Racilius, Tribun, moves for the impeached dius.	II. 30
Rebilus, C. Caninius, named Conful by Cæfi	ar, for a few III. 411
Religion of old Rome, an engine of state; a count of it, III. 346. it's constitution comport the interests of the Senate.	trived to fup- 347
Religion, Natural, the most perfect schen not supersede, but demonstrate the benefit revelation. Note	
Romans, exact in the education of their cl a furnmary account of their constitution ment, Prof. xxxiii. free from bribery,	and govern-
times of the Gracchi, Pref. xxxix. the in the government of Provinces, 84. use	ir corruption
fwers to foreigners in Latin, Note [f] 89. capital punishments.	
Roscius, a samed Comedian, I. 38. his caus	e defended by
Cicero, 57. a character of him by Cice pay for acting.	ro; his daily
	THE PERSON NAMED AND ADDRESS OF THE PARTY OF
Roscius, S. of Ameria, accused of the murth	
ther; defended by Cicero, and acquitted.	
Rufus, Q. Pompeius, banished for the disc	
Tribunate.	II. 159
	Rullys

Rullus, P. Servilius, Tribun, publishes an Agrarian law, I. 161. opposed by Cicero. 162
Rutilius, Consul, killed in the Marsic war. I. 19

S.

Callust, the Historian, turned out of the Senate, by Appius the Censor, II. 212. his account of Catiline's Conspiracy taken from Brutus's Life of Cato. Note [d] Sanga, Q. Fabius, informs Cicero of the practices of Catiline's Confederates with the Allobroges. Sauffeius, M. one of Milo's Confidents, twice defended by Cicero, and acquitted. Scaptius, Brutus's Agent in Cyprus; treated the Salaminians with great cruelty, II. 187. deprived of his command there by Cicero. Scavola, Q. Mucius, Augur; the best lawyer and statesman of his time, takes Cicero under his protection, I. 13 his house the Oracle of the city, 15. wrote an Epigram in praise of Cicero's poem on C. Marius. Scavola, the High-Priest; his fingular probity, and skill in the law, I. 13. killed by Damasippus. Scipio, accused of bribery, but preserved from a trial by Pompey, II. 158. procures a decree for the dismission of Cæfar's army. Senators, not held complete, till enrolled in the lift of the Cenfors, I. 61. the vacancies supplied yearly by the ibid Quæfters. Sergius, M. a leader of the mob under Clodius. II. 6 Serranus, Tribun, hinders the decree for Cicero's restoration, opposes the decree for restoring Cicero's house. Sertorius maintains a war of eight years against the whole force of Rome, I. 74. his character and death, ibid. Servilia, Brutus's mother; her character. Servilius prevails with Metellus to drop his opposition to Cicero's return. Servilius, P. an affected rival of Cicero, III. 82. his character. Sentius, P. Quæster, joins with Petreius in urging C. Antony to a battle with Catiline, I. 233. when Tribun, procures Cælar's consent to Cicero's restoration 393. left for dead in the Forum by Clodius, 406. ac-

The INDEX.

cused by M. Tullius Albinovanus, and defended by
Cicero, II. 45
Shews and publick games, magnificent and expensive. I. 119
Sica entertains Cicero in his exil. I. 368
Sicilians, made citizens of Rome by Antony. III. 47
Sicily, the first Province of Rome, I. 65. the granary of the Republic, 66. famous for it's school of Eloquence.
Sicinius, a factious Tribun, his jest upon the Consuls Cn. Octavius, and C. Scribonius Curio; raises a sedition, is slain by the contrivance of Curio. I. 63 Silanus, Consul elect, gives the first vote for putting Catiline's Accomplices to death. I. 219
Socrates, banished Physics out of Philosophy, and applied it to Morality; his method of inculcating his notions.
S. G. Marketter and M. S. G. S.
Sofigenes, an astronomer, employed by Cæsar to reform the Kalendar. II. 356
Spartacus, General of the Gladiators in the Servile war; killed at the head of his troops.
killed at the head of his troops. Speech, of J. Cæsar on Catiline's Accomplices, I. 220. of M. Cato. 228
Speeches of Cicero for Roscius Amerinus, I. 40. for Rosci-
us the Comedian, 57. against Cæcilius and Verres, 86,
&c. for Fonteius, 123. for the Manilian law, 134.
for Cluentius, 136. for Gallius, 151. against the A-
grarian law, 162, &c. on the tumult about Otho, 168.
to the Sons of the Proscribed, 169, for Rabirius, 172.
against Catiline, first, 186. second, 193. third, 212.
fourth, 221. for Murena, 200. for Sylla, 251. for
Flaccus, 314. to the Senate upon his reftoration, II. 4.
to the People, ibid. for the restitution of his house, 12.
for Sextius, 46. for Balbus, 64. for Cælius, 66. against Piso, 77. for Plancius, 115. for Rabirius Posthumus,
125. for Milo, 154. for Marcellus, 352. for Ligarius,
359. for King Deiotarus, 383. his first Philippic, III.
82. the third, 100. the fourth, 103. the fifth, 107.
the fixth, 116. the feventh, 119. the eighth, 121, the
ninth, 129. the tenth, 136. the eleventh, 148. the
twelfth, 157. the thirteenth, 168. the fourteenth, 198.
Speusippus, Plato's Nephew, and successor in the Acade-
my. III. 328
Stoics, held the Soul to be a subtile fiery substance, subsist-
gai gor lett for dead in the Perdin by Glodwin age; and

ing after the body; but not eternally, III. 342. believed the reality of Divination. Sulpicius, Servius, desires a conserence with Cicero, II. 288, fent Embassador to Antony, III, 115, dies on his journey, 122. has a statue, &c. decreed to him by Cicero, 132. his character, ibid. a story of his skill in the law; erroneously reckon'd among Cæsar's conspi-Note [k] 134 rators by Catrou and Rouille. Supper, the great meal of the Romans. III. 201 Sylla, P. Corn. convicted of bribery, and forfeits the Confulship; accused of conspiring with Catiline; defended by Cicero, and acquitted. Sylla, L. Cornelius, his behaviour in the Marsic war, I. 20. obtains the Consulship; the Province of Afia; the command of the Mithridatic war, 23. drives C. Marius out of Rome, ibid. Greece and Afia from Mithridates; declared a public enemy; makes peace with Mithridates, 30. brings the works of Aristotle into Italy; lands at Brundisium; is joined by young Pompey; deseats Norbanus; draws Scipio's army from him, 31. gives Scipio his life, ibid. the inventor of a proscription; deprives I. Cæsar of the Priesthood, 33. unwillingly grants him his life; his prediction concerning him; declared Dictator, 34. makes great alterations in the ftate; diffributes the confiscated lands among his soldiers, 35. gives Pompey the title of Magnus; is difgusted at Pompey's demand of a triumph, 49. his death and character. Syracuse and Messina resuse to join with the other cities of Sicily in the impeachment of Verres. Senate, had the fole prerogative of distributing the Provinces, till Cæfar obtain'd them by a grant of the Peo-

T

Thrquinius, his evidence against Crassius, voted to be false.

I. 235

Terentia, wife of Cicero, rich and noble, I. 64. jealous of Clodius's sister; urges Cicero to give evidence against him, 266. dragged from the Temple of Vesta by Clodius's order, 358. bears the mistory.

Vol. III.

THE INDEX.

fortunes of her family with great spirit, 389, of- fers her estate to sale to supply their necessities, 390, meets Cicero at Brundissum, II. 230, divorced from him, 331, her character, ibid. lived to a re- markable age. Note [8] 333 Theophrasius, his works brought into Italy by Sylla.
Thermus, 2. demolishes Mitylene. Tiburani, give hostages to Cicero. Tira, Cicero's favorite slave; some account of him. 11. 30 11. 30 11. 30 11. 30 11. 30 11. 30 11. 30 11. 30 11. 30 11. 30 11. 30 11. 30 11. 30
Torquatus accuses P. Corn. Sylla of conspiring with Catiline. I. 254 Translations of the Classic writers; how to be performed.
Travels of Cicero, the pattern of beneficial travelling.
Trebathius recommended to Cæsar by Cicero, II. 98. his character, &c. 99. rallied by Cicero for turning Epicurean. 174 Trebanius, Tribun, publishes a law for the affignment of Provinces for five years to the Consuls, II. 84. one of the Conspirators against Casar, his character, 427. goes to his government of Asia, III. 16. is taken by surprize, and cruelly murthered by Dolabella. 147 Tribuns, their power carried to the greatest excess by the Gracchi, Pref. xxxvii. abridged by Sylla, I. 35. restored by Pompey, 115. the common tools of the ambitious. Triumphs; the nature and conditions of them. Note [a]. II. 166
Triumvirate, the first; by whom formed, and with what views, I. 298. second; the place and manner, in which the three Chiefs met, III. 272. the conditions of their union; they proscribe Cicero, with fixteen more; and afterwards three hundred Senators, and two thousand Knights. 273 Triumviri, or Treviri Manetales; what they were.
Tubero, 2. persecutes Ligarius. Tullia, Cicero's daughter, when born, I. 425. meets her father at Brundisium; marries Crassippes; separated from him by divorce, and marries Piso. II. 53. di-
vorced

vorced from Dolabella, 311. her death and character, 365. a ftory of her body being found on the Appian way.

Note [h] 380
Tullius, the name of Cicero's family; it's derivation, I. 6.
Tulculan Villa, preferred by Cicero to the rest of his Villa's.

Tyrannio, a learned Greek entertained by Cicero.

II. 54

V.

Varrus, M. Terentius, enters into a strict union with Cicero; his character.

Varrus, P. seizes. Afric on the part of the Republic.

III. 319.

Vatinius, the Tribun, Cæsar's creature, I. 303. heads

Cæsar's mob against Bibulus, 307. attacks the house of Bibulus, 321. appears a witness against P. Sextius, and is severely lashed by Cicero, II. 47. made Prætor, to the exclusion of M. Cato, 82. defended by Cicero, 115. his character, ibid.

Verres, C. Prætor of Sicily; accused by Cicero of great oppression and cruelty, I. 84. is convicted and banished, 92. a specimen of his crimes, 93. his death.

Vettius, the General of the Marsi, holds a conference with the Roman Consul, Cn. Pompeius.

I. 19

Vettius, L. accuses Cæsar of Catiline's plot, I. 253. is imprisoned and miserably used by him, 254. employed by him to charge Curio, & with a design against Pompey's life, 324. strangled by him in prison.

Victims in facrificing found fometimes without a heart or liver; how accounted for.

Note [f] II, 430, Villa's of the Roman Generals used to be on hills.

Note

Virgilius, C. refuses to admit Cicero into Sicily. I. 368
Vomiting, immediately before, and after dinner; a custom among the Romans.

Note [m] II. 410
Vulturnius, one of Catiline's Conspirators, I. 208. gives evidence to the Senate against his Accomplices. 209

reference it on the test the state of the st

WAR; part of the education of the Nobility; a fame in it the furest way to the highest honours, I. 19. the first civil war among the Romans properly so called, 23. Marsic, otherwise called Italic, Social, 18. Octavian, 24. Servile, 73. Sertorian, ibid. Mithridatic, 133. Gallic.

Witnesses in trials; a character of the Gallic, I. 123. and of the Grecian and Roman.

Note 315

X.

XEnocles of Adramyttus, a Rhetorician of Asia, attended Cicero in his travels.

I. 46

Y.

constructed of biodyn, seculal by Court of grove of groves.

construct and creater, I. Sec., is convenied and chandled the crimes, e.g., the death.

YEar, Roman; an account of it.

bornal of rise Mark, hells a conference

setriques mile que estados de

pt to be made to the training

Sixex q design

II. 354

FINIS.

was the Romen Contat, Co. Pompilies of Civil. 19



